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LEAVES

FROM

MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY.



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BY THE

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PREFACE.

WHETHER the Author of these "Leaves" has acted wisely in producing them, the public must determine. The work has been composed with reluctance, for the Author did not contemplate being his own biographer. A portion of his narrative is occupied with details of oppositions which he has encountered; but had not a relation of these become necessary, the book had been unwritten. The continuance of misrepresentation for nearly twenty years will, the Author trusts, extenuate his boldness in obtruding his personal history upon the world.

Of the several illustrations, the Author's portrait, and the view of the Abbey Craig and Wallace Monument, have been prepared by Messrs Taylor, photographers to the Queen; and the photographs

of the Stirling Cemetery and the Hogg Monument, by Mr Valentine. The other illustrations are executed by Messrs M'Farlane & Erskine, the well-known lithographers. The volume contains a record of the origin and history of several undertakings not altogether unknown.

GRAMPIAN LODGE, FOREST HILL, S.E.

May 1876.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.	
ANCESTRAL SKETCHES, ...	1
CHAPTER II.	
BOYHOOD IN THE COUNTRY, AND WAYWARD STUDIES,. .	33
CHAPTER III.	
PROFESSIONAL STRUGGLES, ...	81
CHAPTER IV.	
RESTORATION OF STIRLING, ...	99
CHAPTER V.	
PATRIOTISM AND ITS PENALTIES, ...	118
CHAPTER VI.	
PATRIOTISM AND ITS PENALTIES— <i>continued</i> , ...	178
CHAPTER VII.	
A MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE, ...	214
CHAPTER VIII.	
AMONG THE POETS, ...	243
CHAPTER IX.	
SCOTTISH NATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS, ...	308
CHAPTER X.	
RECENT ENTERPRISES AND STUDIES, ...	348

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
AUTHOR'S PORTRAIT, ... (<i>Frontispiece.</i>)	
FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF WILLIAM HAMILTON OF GILBERTFIELD, ...	9
THE CEMETERY, STIRLING, ...	105
ABBAY CRAIG AND THE WALLACE MONUMENT, ...	173
FACSIMILE OF PORTION OF A LETTER FROM MISS HELEN WALKER TO DR ROGERS, ...	247
FACSIMILE OF "LAND O' THE LEAL" AND "CALLER HERRIN',"	249
FACSIMILE OF LETTERS FROM THE BARONESS NAIRNE TO MISS HELEN WALKER, ...	250
MONUMENT TO JAMES HOGG, THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD, .	276
"WHERE GADIE RINS," IN THE HANDWRITING OF THE AUTHOR, THE REV. JOHN PARK, D.D., ...	286
"THE ARABY MAID," IN THE HANDWRITING OF THE AUTHOR, THE REV. T. G. TORRY ANDERSON, ...	295
GRAMPIAN LODGE, ...	366

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CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRAL SKETCHES.

“ Majorum gloria posteris lumen est.”

—*Sallust.*

“ Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.”

—*Ovid.*

THE ancient Hebrews made genealogy a favourite study, and men of culture, among modern nations, have delighted to record the history of their progenitors. To our ancestors we owe our early surroundings, and our physical condition—in some degree also our intellectual qualities. From every consideration it seems reasonable that, in relating the story of our own lives, we should not omit some allusion to those who have preceded us. We better bespeak a hearing when we have reported our antecedents. Of my progenitors I have no reason to be ashamed. To some applied the poet's lines :

“ Along the cool sequestered vale of life
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way ; ”

yet none of them, for three centuries at least, occupied a lower step on the social ladder than that of substantial yeomen. On my father's side I am descended—in an unbroken line—from William Roger, steward of Coupar Abbey at the period of the Reformation. Belonging to a family of the name who rented land at Ochiltree, in Ayrshire, he seems to have obtained his ecclesiastical office on the nomination of the Abbot of Coupar, Donald Campbell, fourth son of the second Earl of Argyle. Lands at Ochiltree, belonging to the Abbey of Melrose, were occupied by the Roger family as kindly tenants for at least a century prior to the Reformation. Members of the family had previously held lands in Roxburghshire, a county to which it is conjectured they may have given name.* The Rogers of Roxburghshire were connected with a House which, settling in England at the Conquest, long held a noble rank in Normandy, where their name is still preserved in the town of Beaumont le Roger.

To the family at Ochiltree belonged the Black Friar, John Roger, who, as a preacher of the Reformed doctrines, was in 1544 seized by Cardinal Beaton, and first imprisoned in his castle of St Andrews and afterwards, at his instance, murderously thrust from its sea-tower.†

Prior to the Reformation, William Roger occupied

* In charters of the reign of David I., Roxburgh is designated "Rogysburgh."

† John Knox's Works, edited by Mr David Laing, vol. i., p. 119.

the grange or home farm of Coupar Abbey; he superintended the *nativi* or serfs, was chamberlain of the institution, and among the lay brothers held the foremost rank. Subsequent to the establishment of the Reformed faith, in 1560, he rented the farm which he had occupied as steward. He died in 1562, and his will, accompanied by an inventory of his substance, is recorded in the General Commissariat Register. His son, who bore the same Christian name, purchased a twelfth part of the abbey lands, and was thereafter styled "portioner of Coupar-Grange." Till nearly the close of the eighteenth century, though latterly as tenants, the representatives of William Roger resided on the lands of Coupar-Grange. A member of the family, James Roger, "portioner of Redie," parish of Airlie, Forfarshire, specified in his will, executed in 1606, that should his sons die before succeeding him in his "roume" or estate, his daughters should be permitted to enjoy the succession, only on the condition that should they marry, their husbands should assume the name of Roger.* His relative, William Roger, who settled in Dundee as a merchant and shipowner, cherished more liberal sentiments. By his will, executed in 1658, he bequeathed "one-half of his real and personal estate," for the education and training of "seven poor male children;" his wife making a liberal provision for merchants' widows.

* Edinburgh Commissariat Register.

Of these bequests the proceeds have considerably accumulated, and continue to be administered at Dundee by the town council.

William Roger, my great-grandfather, was born at Coupar-Grange in January 1684, and, as eldest son, succeeded to the lease of his father's lands. Possessing much decision of character, well-informed, and of sterling integrity, he was entrusted with various offices and duties. As an honorary constable of Perthshire, he had an encounter with John Gunn, the noted freebooter, and succeeded in disarming him. Gunn had committed some act of larceny, but as he made restitution and undertook to leave the district with his followers, my ancestor entreated the magistrate on his behalf, and he was subjected to a minor punishment. Some years afterwards Gunn and his party returned to Perthshire, and were present at the yearly fair at Coupar-Angus. At the fair a cottager on William Roger's farm had sold his cow, and tying up the money in a handkerchief, had deposited it in the bottom of his pocket. Suddenly discovering that the handkerchief was gone, he hastened to his employer and reported his loss. My great-grandfather hailed Gunn, who was near, and begged that he would assist him in saving his cottager from ruin. Gunn stepped aside, and blowing a whistle, was joined by the members of his gang. Thereafter he returned to my great-grandfather, and, producing the handkerchief with the money, took credit for his

alertness in procuring it. He assured my ancestor that, for old friendship, he would be glad to serve him on any other occasion ; he was hanged not long afterwards.*

William Roger was much employed in matters of arbitration. After a sale of farm stock he was commissioned to determine the value of some stacks of grain. Before the day fixed for his award he received two sums of money—one from the disposer, the other from the purchaser. These he placed in the side pockets of his dress, as he proceeded to meet the parties. Having taken his seat, he said, striking his hands on his sides, “There is a rogue here, and a rogue there, but an honest man in the midst.” The remark was explained after his award, by his exhibiting the moneys sent him as intended bribes, and returning them to the disconcerted owners.

In William Roger’s time, though not long afterwards, many persons in rural districts believed in witchcraft, and were ready to charge with the offence any female who happened to be poor, aged, and ill-favoured. A woman in the neighbourhood of Coupar-Grange was molested as a supposed witch. Proceeding to her cottage my progenitor undertook to secure her safety. Giving her a little employment on his farm, and storing her cottage with provisions, the rumour of her being in league with an evil

* For an account of this noted freebooter, see Bruce’s Black Kalendar of Aberdeen.

agency forthwith ceased. To a person of greater consideration my ancestor rendered most essential service. Ogilvie, the Laird of Cluny, had, in riding with a funeral party, been jostled by a neighbour, whose horse was restive. Hot words, which he expressed, being met with an angry rejoinder, he drew a pistol from his belt, and firing at his companion shot him dead. He made instant flight, but dreading to return to his own neighbourhood, sought shelter at Coupar-Grange. To my ancestor Ogilvie was known as a generous landlord, but whose eccentricities, under strong excitement, rose to madness. He therefore sheltered him from his pursuers, and aided him in escaping to France, where he resided ever afterwards.

In engaging his farm-labourers, William Roger became bound not to give them salmon to dinner oftener than thrice a week. In the river Ericht, which bordered his farm, salmon were procured in large quantities, and were consequently deemed of little value. On his farm potatoes were not much cultivated, as they were obnoxious to the hinds, who regarded them as inferior food. Tea was used only by the landowners and persons of quality. William Roger's second wife, Janet Gellatly, was presented shortly after her marriage in 1726 with a pound of tea as a special mark of honour. She invited her neighbours to partake, and, in preparing the dish, boiled the leaves in a saucepan, and served them up with butter and condiments. The

dish was pronounced unpalatable! Tea was introduced in Scotland by the Duke of York, when, in 1682, he resided at Holyrood as Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. It was sold at Edinburgh twenty-five years later at 25s. per pound.

Peter Roger, my grandfather, was a man of inoffensive manners, and of very ordinary ability. He was chiefly remarkable for his correct deportment and most exemplary life. It was related by his children that he was seldom angry, and under no circumstances of provocation was known to use an unbecoming word. His pious life was closed by his expiring suddenly as he rose from family prayer. He latterly rented the farm of Laws, near Dundee, and I am informed by my relative, Mr Neish, the present owner of the estate, that though he died upwards of sixty years ago, his memory is still fragrant. My grandfather's two predecessors in the Laws farm were noted for their potations, one obtaining the *sobriquet* of *Gin Laws*, and the other of *Whisky Laws*. My grandfather, who was respected for his sobriety, was known as *Water Laws*.

Peter Roger's wife, Janet Davidson, was a woman of uncommon sagacity and penetration; for many years she survived her husband, and contributed to her support by the judicious application of her resources. Daughter of Thomas Davidson, who owned the lands of Wolflaw, in Forfarshire, she was remotely connected with the considerable House of Davidson

of Balgay; not a few of her father's descendants are persons of position and opulence.

My maternal progenitors belonged to the shires of Forfar and Kincardine. My mother, Jane Haldane, was second daughter of the Rev. William Haldane, successively minister of the parishes of Glenisla and Kingoldrum, by his wife Anna, daughter of the Rev. Charles Roberts, of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Mr Roberts ministered to a congregation at Dundee, and the English regiments stationed in the town attended his place of worship. One Sunday morning as he was in the vestry, two young officers who were present, finding that his discourse was placed loosely in his pocket, mischievously removed it. Proceeding to the pulpit, unaware of the occurrence, he remarked that, as he failed to produce his discourse, the two officers smiled. He had not previously preached without a MS., but he now determined to make the attempt. Announcing the text, "Fools make a mock at sin," he preached so effectively that, at the close of the service, the young officers offered an apology, with expressions of deepest penitence. Mr Roberts did not use notes afterwards.

Mr Roberts belonged to a family of respectable yeomen in Kincardineshire; he married Anne, elder daughter of Sir John Ogilvy, Bart. of Inverquharity, whose maternal grandfather, the Hon. James Carnegie of Finhaven, was second son of David, second Earl of Northesk. I possess a receipt, granted to my great-

great-grandfather, James Carnegie of Finhaven, by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, for a subscription copy of his version of Henry the Minstrel's "Wallace." The receipt, which is partly printed, is dated 26th August 1720—it is subscribed :

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Wm. Hamilton". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

The ancestors of my maternal grandfather owned the lands of Bermony, in Perthshire. According to a tradition, these lands were granted to the family of Haldane by James V., who, on visiting the locality in disguise, was kindly entertained by "the gudewife." The family tenure was celebrated in the following rhyme :

" Ye Haddens o' the Moor, ye pay nocht
But a harren tether, if its socht,
A red rose at Yule, and a sna' ba' at Lammas."

The family of Haldane of Bermony were related to a family of the same name, who owned the lands of Easter Keillor, Forfarshire, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and were connected more remotely with the House of Haldane of Gleneagles, Perthshire, chiefly known through two brothers who represented it, Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and Captain James Alexander Haldane, both remarkable for

their missionary zeal and religious earnestness. The family of Haldane is of Norse origin; before the twelfth century they had effected a settlement at Sprouston, in Roxburghshire.

The Rev. William Haldane, my maternal grandfather, was an elegant scholar and effective preacher, but was especially remarkable for his saintly life. All who knew him experienced the influence of his piety. A devout observer of the Sabbath, he discouraged all unnecessary occupation on that holy day, and carefully exercised himself and his household in the duties of religion. He died in 1836, and was succeeded in his church-living by his son, the present incumbent. His wife, Anna Roberts, my grandmother, was in accomplishments and general intelligence much in advance of her period. Subsequent to her marriage in 1796, she instituted a sanitary inspection of her husband's parish, introducing among the cottagers a system of domestic cleanliness and order. She personally vaccinated four hundred persons. She was hospitable, kind, and courteous, but, if she took offence, her sarcasm was prompt and crushing.

My mother was named Jean, in compliment to a daughter of the Earl of Airlie. With the earl and countess she was privileged to reside at Cortachy Castle during her childhood. She died in her twenty-first year, but had already afforded indication of artistic skill and literary taste. I possess a poem of no inconsiderable merit which, in her seventeenth

year, she composed on the occasion of the marriage of her maternal aunt with Dean Skinner of Dunkeld, grandson of the Rev. John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum."

To my father, the Rev. James Roger, minister of Dunino, I shall have occasion to refer frequently. In many respects, he was fitted to occupy and adorn an eminent place, either in the department of law or of general learning. It was remarked of him by the Lord Chief-Commissioner Adam, a distinguished lawyer, that if he had chosen the law as a profession, he would have attained the highest honours. This was, I think, an over-estimate of his powers; but I am satisfied that, as a classical scholar, he had few equals. He was born on his father's farm, Ryehill of Coupar-Grange, Perthshire, on the 24th June 1767. In his fourteenth year he entered the University of St Andrews, having gained by competition a bursary or scholarship, which secured his education and maintenance for four years. At the close of his first college session he obtained a premium awarded by the Earl of Kinnoull, Chancellor of the University, to the student of the first Latin class who had made the most marked proficiency in his studies. The premium, which consisted of a copy of Ruddiman's Livy, in four volumes, was presented in the public hall by the noble donor, who expressed surprise at the youthful age of the recipient. I possess the work now; each volume bears the chan-

cellor's arms, and on the first volume, in the handwriting of Dr John Hunter, the celebrated Latinist and Professor of Humanity, is the following inscription :

"Ingenuo magnoq. spei adolescenti, Jacobo Roger, propter insignes in Artibus humanioribus progressus in classe prima Præmium hoc literarium ex sententia Præpositi et Professorum Collegii S^{ti} Salvatoris et S^{ti} Leonardi, dedit nobilissimus D. Comes de Kinnoull academia ad Fanum Andreæ Cancellarius xv. calend. Maias A.D. 1782. Quod testor

"Joseph M'Cormick, D.D., S.S. et D.L. Præp." *

My father was conducted from his paternal home to the university by one who attained European fame—his relative, the Rev. John Playfair, afterwards known as Professor Playfair of Edinburgh. This eminent person was then minister of Liff, in the county of Forfar. My father was in the habit of referring to the attention which he experienced from him at St Andrews. Mr Playfair, though still young, administered counsel with the gravity of a patriarch, and spoke of the snares which beset the inexperienced. He advised my father to write frequently to his parents, to choose his companions cautiously, and only a few, and never to indulge in amusement till his tasks were finished.

At the period my father entered its university, the city of St Andrews, which once boasted an archiepis-

* Dr Joseph M'Cormick, Principal of the United College, St Andrews, is known as editor of the State Papers and Letters of his grand-uncle the celebrated Principal Carstares.

copal pre-eminence, had fallen into a state of lamentable decay. Many of the older tenements and shops were constructed of timber; while others, built of stones from the ruins of the cathedral, were fashioned rudely, and without taste. The streets, meanly paved, yielded a crop of grass; while less-frequented thoroughfares had crossings composed of detached boulders, on which pedestrians could, when the weather was moist, step across pools of mud. In the centre of the city a locality was known as the *Foul Waste*: it was a receptacle of filth, and emitted a loathsome smell. The cathedral buildings were unenclosed, housewives suspended their wet clothes upon the tombstones, boys played at marbles on the high altar, and nuisance of the worst kind polluted every corner. The colleges were dilapidated. The hall and class-rooms of St Leonard's College contained farm produce and winter fodder. Of Salvator's College, the common hall was a dreary vault, with a cobwebbed roof and damp earthen floor. In a modern wing were chambers appropriated to the college bursars, who were lodged, maintained, and educated within the structure.

Respecting the bursars and their privileges my father was wont to relate some not uninteresting particulars. The professors placed the funds bequeathed to them for the use of the bursars into a common fund, which they styled *Diet Money*. Out of the Diet Money were paid the bursars' class-fees and the expenses of

their maintenance, the balance being divided among the professors themselves. In one respect, the arrangement was not to be objected to, since the small revenues attached to the different classes rendered a subsidy most desirable—almost a necessity. But the temptation to feed the bursars sparingly, or with the coarsest food, was not inconsiderable. The bursar's usual breakfast consisted of half an oaten loaf, with a pint of beer of the meanest quality. Dinner, which was served in the common hall, consisted of eggs or fish three days weekly, and on the other four, of very coarse beef, boiled with cabbages. In the evenings were handed to each bursar in his chamber a two-penny wheaten loaf and a jug of beer; tea and coffee were unknown. The bursar's lodgment resembled the quality of his fare: a parlour about nine feet square, having a small bedroom attached, accommodated two. The rooms were uncarpeted, and scantily provided with the plainest furniture. The chimneys being imperfectly constructed, fires were frequently dispensed with, while warmth was secured by wrapping plaids about the limbs and wearing gloves of Shetland wool. Each bursar was supposed to clean his own knife and fork, while a silver spoon was provided him by the professors on an annual payment of 16s. 8d. sterling.

The condition of the bursars, bad as it was, from 1781 to 1785, when my father shared the entertainment, had been much worse. According to a tradi-

tion which obtained in my father's time, the fare had considerably improved, consequent on an escapade by Robert Fergusson, the celebrated poet. Fergusson, who was a bursar of the college, enjoyed reputation as a verse writer. His satire was dreaded by professors and students alike. At the college table, the bursars were invited, each in his turn, to invoke a blessing. When Fergusson was called on, he repeated these lines :

“ For rabbits young, and for rabbits old,
For rabbits hot, and for rabbits cold,
For rabbits tender, and for rabbits tough,
Our thanks we render, for we've had enough.”

The presiding professor sat aghast and silent. *Senatus Academicus* was convened, and the venerable masters of the college deliberated as to how the offender should be punished. It was ultimately ruled that the graceless poet should not only escape censure, but that the vendor of rabbits should be informed that his supplies would be required less frequently.

My father related another anecdote of Fergusson's poetical sarcasm. Two young men from Forfarshire, who had been engaged in farming operations, entered the university, in which they became bursars. Their attainments were superficial, while their manners did not conciliate friendship. Fergusson, whom they had offended, inscribed these lines on the door of their apartment :

“ Jamie Cobb and Will Mudie
Left the plough and came to study.”

Remarking the insult, they hastened to the hebdometer, or professor in superintendence for the week, to enter a complaint. During their absence the satirist completed his verse :

“ Will Mudie and Jamie Cobb
Never tried a worse job.”

Eight years before my father's enrolment as a student, Dr Johnson had visited St Andrews. The event continued to supply material for debate ; and among the students were two parties, one of whom supported Dr Johnson, while the other took the side of the professors. One student, John Campbell, ventured to lampoon the lexicographer. “ How should I define a window, Dr Johnson ? ” propounded Campbell. “ A window, sir,” the sage was described as answering, “ is an orifice cut out of an edifice for the introduction of illumination.” “ Shall I snuff the candle, Dr Johnson ? ” “ Sir, you may deprive the luminary of its superfluous eminence.”

At St Andrews my father was privileged to use the valuable stores of the university library more freely than his contemporaries. The librarian, one Vilant, was remarkable for his coarse and disobliging manners. He refused every book asked for, unless on a special order from a professor, and even those books, for which an order was obtained, were often alleged to be out of the library, while they were actually on its shelves. My father detected that the librarian loved attention and courted ease. As

librarian he was not entitled to the salutation rendered to the professors, but my father uncovered his head on all occasions as he passed him; he even proffered assistance, in entering books and bringing them from the shelves. The librarian, pleased with the courtesy and help, became most sociable, and allowed books on all subjects and in vast numbers. As my father eschewed sports, he was enabled to carry on an extensive course of reading, and which he could, by a singularly retentive memory, permanently utilise.

Attracting the notice of Professor Hunter of the Latin class, my father thereby commenced with that eminent person an acquaintance which subsisted for fifty years. Professor Hunter was originally a clerk to Lord Monboddo, who was much interested in him on account of his classical attainments. By his lordship he was recommended to the patron of his chair, the eccentric General Scott of Balcomie. The general was startled to learn that a law-clerk should aspire to a professorship, and to check his presumption, and confuse his employer, held an interview with him, and placed Horace in his hand. Hunter read and translated fluently. "The chair is yours," said the general; "not from Monboddo's recommendation, but from your own merit."

I must refer to a professor of a different stamp, under whom my father studied at St Andrews. This was the Rev. William Brown, Professor of Church

History, whose claim to remembrance rests on an achievement of his early life. After the battle of Prestonpans, several officers of the royal army were carried off by the victorious rebels, and imprisoned at Glammis, in Forfarshire. With several followers, Mr Brown, then a theological student, rode from Dundee to Glammis, and, overcoming the detaining party, rescued the prisoners. The daring act was reported to the Duke of Cumberland, who sent for Mr Brown and promised to befriend him. He was successively appointed minister of Cortachy, in Forfarshire, and pastor of the English congregation at Utrecht. In 1757 he received his commission as professor at St Andrews, but did not obtain installation for some time, on account of a rumour affecting his morals. As a professor he was not very efficient. During the earlier weeks of the session he entitled his lectures, which were composed in Latin, *Res Gestæ ante mundum conditum!* Privately he was hospitable and friendly; he showed my father the pistols with which he attacked the rebels at Glammis. His son, William Lawrence Brown, D.D., Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, whom my father knew intimately, was an accomplished scholar and acute logician, but was keen and implacable in his resentments. Principal Hill of St Andrews, on being consulted by Lord Melville, expressed an opinion that he lacked prudence to discharge wisely the duties of Principal of Marischal College. Unhappily this

opinion became known, and henceforth Dr Hill had, in public and private, in speech and pamphlet, and in a poem* of two volumes, under the name of *Vulpellus*, to bear the brunt of his indignation.

On the recommendation of his father's landlord, Sir Alexander Ramsay Irvine, Bart., my father completed his theological studies at the University of Marischal College, Aberdeen. There for two sessions he enjoyed the prelections of Dr George Campbell, the celebrated author of the "Dissertation on Miracles," and of Dr Alexander Gerard, author of "Pastoral Care." My father remembered Dr Gerard as a venerable gentleman, who lectured without animation, and whose abilities were more apparent in his books than in the class-room. Of Professor, afterwards Principal, Campbell, he spoke in terms of the highest praise. His lectures, he said, abounded in information, clearly expressed, and were delivered with dignity and ease. To his students he was at once a hero and a father. He obtained their confidence, took an interest in their prospects, and extended towards them a generous hospitality. My father was privileged with his friendship, and believed that he shared his esteem. Theological students at Aberdeen were permitted to criticise discourses, delivered in the hall, but the privilege was seldom used. My father, who zealously pursued his studies without making new acquaintances, felt him-

* This poem is entitled "Philemon ; or, The Progress of Virtue."

self at liberty to exercise his critical faculty. The subject of every discourse announced for delivery, he carefully studied, afterwards indulging in copious criticisms. By Professor Campbell he was usually complimented on his acuteness, though always discommended when he launched into severity.

Professor Campbell possessed a keen sense of humour, which he occasionally indulged. He related to my father the following anecdote : A hairdresser in the old town, who, from his supposed intelligence, was elected deacon of his trade, entertained his customers with long details respecting local history. The professor, who doubted the accuracy of certain statements, resolved to put him to the test. Said he, one day, to the man of many recollections, "Do you remember, deacon, when Pontius Pilate was Provost of Old Aberdeen?" "No," responded the hairdresser, "he was before my time, but my father knew him well."

At Aberdeen, my father boarded with Mrs Riddoch, widow of an Episcopal clergyman, and a cousin of James Boswell. During their visit to Aberdeen, Boswell and his illustrious fellow-traveller spent an evening with Mrs Riddoch. She acknowledged to my father that she was disgusted with Dr Johnson's manners, and could not understand how her relative attached himself to his society. She had told Boswell this, but he insisted on Dr Johnson's worth. Several of the professors had accepted her

invitation to meet the travellers, and she had expected an evening of pleasant sociality. But Dr Johnson, she said, spoilt all by his unwearied argumentation.

My father was licensed to preach in 1791. In the same year he was appointed ministerial assistant at Cortachy, an upland parish in the county of Forfar. From that parish had Lord Ogilvy, in 1745, proceeded with his clan to join the standard of Prince Charles Edward. Many persons who accompanied him related to my father their experience of the campaign. These were direful in the extreme. They endured cold and hunger, and were surrounded with misery and wretchedness in every form. A recollection of the horrors of Culloden made old men weep. All affirmed that they had joined the standard of the prince to please Lord Ogilvy, and that personally they were content with Hanoverian rule. Lord Ogilvy was personally attainted, but the family estates were not forfeited, for his father, the Earl of Airlie, remained loyally at home. After a lengthened residence in France, Lord Ogilvy obtained a free pardon and returned to his ancestral seat. When my father was at Cortachy, he was an old man, full of oddities and whims. He received a weekly newspaper, which, after reading, he put into the fire, that he might enjoy the pleasure of retailing the news to his domestics. Every evening at eight o'clock he visited the servants' hall, where, leaning against a large upright

chest, he discoursed with his attendants on the political aspects of the times. All listened reverently, but they had seen the weekly journal before it passed into his lordship's hands. When the parochial incumbent died, the parishioners petitioned that my father might be appointed to the charge, but it had been promised by the patron to another.

My father now became ministerial assistant at Monifieth, near Dundee. At the request of the incumbent, he prepared a description of the parish for Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland." The performance of this task brought him into personal contact with Sir John, whom he described as a man of extraordinary energy, but who attempted too much. Had he more concentrated his efforts, my father thought he would have proved, as indeed in some respects he was, the most illustrious Scotsman of his age. Through Sir John Sinclair, my father became acquainted with the patriotic George Dempster of Dunnichen, formerly Member of Parliament. Mr Dempster had undertaken, at Sir John's request, to prepare an agricultural survey of the county of Forfar, but as the work proved more arduous than he had anticipated, he transferred the duty to my father. That he might accomplish his task efficiently, my father performed a journey on horseback through every parish in the county, and procured statistics; he was much indebted to the clergy and principal farmers. His report was published in 1794 under the title of

“General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus or Forfar,” accompanied with a preliminary dissertation by Mr Dempster. My father’s next publication was an “Essay on Government,” intended to allay the excitement which had arisen among the humbler classes, by the proceedings of the French Directory ; it passed into a third edition.

My father’s intimacy with Mr George Dempster lasted upwards of twenty years. I possess a budget of letters, addressed by Mr Dempster to my father at various times, all indicating cordial friendship and sincere respect. At Dunnichen House my father met some distinguished persons, among others John Pinkerton, the antiquary. Mr Pinkerton was, in my father’s estimate, self-opinionative and unamiable. He talked much about himself and his writings, was inclined to oppose the general opinion, and would not tolerate that any statement or theory of his own should be impugned or questioned. Said a young miss of thirteen to Mr Dempster one morning, before the antiquary joined the breakfast table, “Grandpapa, when is Mr Pinkerton going away ?” “Hush, my dear,” said Mr Dempster with a smile. Pinkerton spent a large portion of his time in visits to country gentlemen and others who were pleased with the honour of entertaining him.

On retiring from Parliament in 1790, Mr Dempster concentrated his energies on improving the national resources of the country. He obtained an

Act for the protection and encouragement of Scottish fisheries. He advanced the interests of northern manufactures, and sought the development of husbandry. In its agricultural concerns, the county of Forfar, more especially in its upland districts, considerably lagged, and it was Mr Dempster's ambition to imbue the tenantry of his district with a spirit of enterprise and emulation, which he hoped would ultimately subdue the marshes and reclaim the waste lands. In this laudable object he found a willing coadjutor in my father, who had become familiar with the agricultural condition of every parish in the county, and had, by extensive reading, made himself acquainted with agriculture as a science. Mr Dempster established the "Lunan and Vinney Farming Society," of which, on his nomination, my father was elected honorary secretary. The society held yearly an exhibition and a festive meeting at Dunnichen, and some eighty persons—landlords and tenants—were enrolled as members. On Mr Dempster's death in 1818, meetings of the society were suspended. The minute-book, a curious record of agricultural proceedings, is now in my possession. By the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, my father was, in 1797, awarded their gold medal for an essay on the best method of improving the Highlands.

My father's connection with Dunnichen House, as a frequent and welcome guest, having constituted an important feature in his career, I feel called

upon to refer a little more fully to Mr Dempster personally. His public history is well known. It was bruited that he was a disciple of David Hume, and that he cherished infidel sentiments, but whatever his private views were, my father assured me he publicly evinced not only a marked respect for religion, but was careful to assert its obligations. His letters to my father indicate a recognition of providential care. Mr Dempster was benevolent, even in excess of his resources. My father saw him despatch a budget of money to Woodfall, the celebrated printer, learning that he was in difficulty. With Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, James Macpherson, and other notable persons, he was in habits of friendship, and had maintained a correspondence, but some time before his death he destroyed his MSS. In answer to a hint that he would be pleased to undertake his biography, Mr Dempster wrote my father in June 1816 a letter, which contains these words : “ You joke about the life of an individual to whom nothing but oblivion belongs :

“ ‘ Vixi et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi. ’ ”

Mr Dempster died in February 1818, in his eighty-fourth year. My father testified that the designation of “ Honest George ” was correctly applied to him, as he was actuated by a pure and stainless patriotism.

Disappointed in obtaining ecclesiastical preferment, my father resolved to attempt a literary career in the

metropolis. Provided with letters from Mr Dempster and his relatives, Principal Playfair of St Andrews and Professor Playfair of Edinburgh, he in the autumn of 1802 sailed for London. There he placed himself under the guidance of Mr William Playfair, brother of Professor Playfair, well known as an inventor and miscellaneous writer. By this gentleman he was strongly dissuaded from abandoning his prospects in Scotland and throwing himself into the *mare magnum* of London life. He had intended to act as a Parliamentary reporter. In this capacity he enjoyed the privilege of listening to the orations of Pitt and Fox, and he delighted to describe their appearance and manner long afterwards. "He could," wrote an accomplished journalist, "raise up before his hearers the whole figure of Charles Fox, with his blue coat and yellow waistcoat, opening his manly and simple addresses with a downcast look and an unanimated heavy air, and gradually getting more and more carried away by the strength of his feelings, till his voice was elevated beyond the pitch to which a calm attention to gracefulness would have confined it, but never elevated so as to lose its power of impressing and ruling the hearts of the senate."

My father remained in London only a few months. In the circumstances, he acted wisely, for those he knew, were unsuccessful literary strugglers, who could not help him; and he possessed such a limited capacity for business that he could not have pushed his

way alone. Had he found a patron who could appreciate his learning or his legal acumen, and at the same time would superintend his finances, he had certainly attained fortune and fame. In Scotland, on his return, he obtained immediate and congenial employment. He was appointed ministerial assistant at Dunnichen, and employed as leader writer to the *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser*, a weekly journal lately established at Dundee. In 1804, on the recommendation of his cousin-german, the Rev. Dr James Playfair, Principal of the United College of St Andrews, he was presented to the ministerial charge of Dunino, Fifeshire; he was ordained to his office in May 1805. In many respects my father's clerical appointment was suited to his tastes. His parochial manse was situated within four miles of St Andrews, with its valuable university library. His parish duties were not laborious—his parishioners, of all ages, not exceeding two hundred souls. He continued a diligent student, while his intelligence and learning gained him many friends. His old preceptor Dr John Hunter frequented his society, as did his learned, but somewhat indolent son, Dr James, the Professor of Logic. Dr John Lee, afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh, was a welcome visitor, not more on account of his marvellous scholarship than his pleasant *bonhomie*. Dr Henry David Hill, the Greek Professor at St Andrews, and Dr James Brown, Professor of Natural Philosophy at

Glasgow, a remarkable man, now nearly forgotten, both formerly ministers of Dunino, and Dr Robert Haldane, latterly Principal of St Mary's College, were cherished guests. Two successive schoolmasters of the parish, George Cant and William Tennant—the former a literary genius, as well as a relative of the illustrious Immanuel Kant, and the latter author of the poem of “Anster Fair,” and afterwards Professor of Oriental Languages at St Andrews—were at the manse table once a week. There, too, met a host of poets, members of the *Musomanik Society* of Anstruther, including Captain Charles Gray, the ingenious song-writer, and William Macdonald Fowler, author of “The Spirit of the Isle.” One day weekly, to the close of his career, even after incurring keen adversity and chilling misfortunes, my father kept open table. Students from St Andrews, sons and grandsons of his old friends, and many others with less claim, were generously entertained by him. I cannot say that he always experienced gratitude, but I heard him complain only once.

In the earlier days of his ministry, there was no more frequent and more honoured guest at my father's table than Dr Thomas Chalmers, minister of Kilmany. My father discovered his genius, and predicted his eminence at a period when others regarded him only as eccentric. When my father first knew him he was in his twenty-fifth year; he was then moved by odd whims and strange fancies. A student of chemistry,

he informed my father that he had discovered a mode of rendering the strongest spirit mild and innocuous. "I simply," said he, "leave the bottles uncorked, placing them in an open cupboard, so that atmospheric air may enter the necks of the bottles, and mollify the fluid." My father happened to exchange pulpits with him shortly after being informed of his discovery, and readily ascertained on tasting his whisky that it had been copiously watered. "Well, my dear sir, you would find my whisky very mild," said Mr Chalmers, when my father rejoined him at Dunino. "Very mild indeed," said my father; "and I might have drunk a bottle without experiencing much injury. But water, not air, has effected the change. Lock up your bottles from your servants, and the liquor will retain its potency." Chalmers tried the new experiment, and admitted that my father was correct.

Mr Chalmers was chaplain and adjutant of the district company of volunteers. The members were to dine together at St Andrews, and my father was invited. Some time before dinner he met Mr Chalmers in the street, equipped in military attire, including a scarlet coat and white trousers. "How are you, my dear sir," said Mr Chalmers, approaching my father, with his wonted cordiality. "Very well," said my father, "but you have the advantage of me; I know the voice." "You know me perfectly," said Chalmers, anticipating a rebuke. "It won't do, my friend," said my father, "we cannot divest ourselves of our proper

clothing ; you and I belong to another regiment." Mr Chalmers was persuaded to assume a black coat.

One of the earliest of Dr Chalmers's orations was made at my father's instance. An appeal in an important case of discipline had been taken by my father from a decision of the Presbytery of St Andrews to the Synod of Fife. The Synod met at Kirkcaldy, and my father had induced Mr Chalmers to move that the Presbytery's judgment should be reversed. He had prepared a powerful speech, which he delivered with amazing energy. His sarcasm was crushing, and his eloquence bore upon the court like the onward progress of a torrent. The appeal was sustained. Chalmers had prepared an oration on the importance of augmenting the stipends of the clergy, which he insisted on reading to my father one day before dinner. My father had tried to defer what he dreaded as an infliction, but soon became riveted and spell-bound by his friend's marvellous eloquence. On the appearance of Dr Claudius Buchanan's "Christian Researches," Mr Chalmers became much interested in the conversion of the heathen, and a vigorous advocate of missions. With a view of procuring funds for the cause of missions, he proposed that the humblest member of every congregation should contribute something, however small, and proceeded to advocate what he termed the "power of littles," which long afterwards, under his auspices, constituted the basis of the Sustentation Fund of the Free Church. To interest my father

in missionary enterprise, he presented him with a copy of Dr Buchanan's work. The presentation note is dated 24th January 1813. Though ultimately estranged from Dr Chalmers through a difference of ecclesiastical sentiments, my father always bore strong testimony to his splendid genius and kindly heart.

When my father attended the General Assembly at Edinburgh, he was privileged to enjoy the friendly intercourse of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff of St Cuthberts, Dr John Jamieson, author of the "Scottish Dictionary," and Archibald Constable. He frequently dined with Francis Jeffrey, and was intimate with the eloquent and ingenious Henry Cockburn.

At the early part of his ministry, my father had distinguished himself as an ecclesiastical lawyer in a case requiring much skilful management, and he was afterwards consulted in legal matters by persons who had no claim on his time or on his counsel. All who conceived themselves oppressed flocked to the minister of Dunino for advice and help. Through excessive benevolence, he was led to aid some who were unworthy. No man more readily forgave an injury. In connection with an ecclesiastical dispute, he was some years at variance with the celebrated Principal Hill, but they became cordially reconciled. A country farmer had involved him in a litigation, which cost him half his income for twenty years, but they parted friends. He married my mother in 1823; she was many years his junior, but their tastes were

much in unison. She died in 1825, and my father experienced keen affliction. At that time persons were found willing to obtain gain by robbing the bodies of the dead, and disposing of them for the dissecting-room. Some attempts, it was believed, had been made in neighbouring churchyards, and the entire parishioners insisted on watching my mother's grave. She had been only two years married, but she had won all hearts. As a child, I received many gifts and tokens of affection for my mother's sake.

During his latter years my father seldom left home, and found his chief recreation in reading portions of the classics. He also read in French literature, and studied the Hebrew Scriptures. His acquaintance with the Bible was such that on any verse, or section of a verse, being quoted to him, he would discover its *locale* after a very brief search. When upwards of eighty, he could, on hearing a line of Horace or Virgil, quote the line which followed or preceded it. His information on all subjects was encyclopedic. He talked much, and his conversation abounded with curious anecdote. As a preacher, he did not excel; he had always dispensed with the use of notes, and latterly his utterance was slow, and his manner unimpressive. The bar, not the pulpit, was his place naturally. He composed an historical novel, entitled, "Lord Erichstream," founded on events connected with the Scottish Reformation; it is defective in incident, and has not been published.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD IN THE COUNTRY, AND WAYWARD STUDIES.

“ Dear lovely bowers of innocence and ease,
Seats of my youth, when every sport could please ;
How often have I loiter'd on thy green,
While humble happiness endear'd each scene !”

—*Goldsmith.*

“ I was most ready to return a blow,
And would not brook at all this sort of thing
In my hot youth.”

—*Byron.*

THE only child of my parents, I was born in the manse of Dunino, Fifeshire, on the 18th April 1825. My mother died when I was born, and I was brought up under care of an aunt, my father's sister, to whose devoted affection I owe much. As a child, I possessed a memory of singular retentiveness. A new church, which was built for my father, was completed in October 1826, when my age did not exceed eighteen months. Yet I recollect having seen the carpenters placing the pulpit, a stone-hewer fashioning the spire, and the church bell suspended on a wooden trestle, before its elevation to the belfry. My memory subsequently became extremely defective, so that I had the greatest difficulty, both at school and college, in mastering my tasks.

My father sent me in my sixth year to the parish

school, a kind of seminary which has no counterpart in England. At the Reformation, the Estates of Parliament, on the recommendation of John Knox, established a school in every parish. The parish school was maintained by the landowners, the teacher's scanty salary being subsidised by school fees. These fees were sufficiently moderate. In my native parish, the schoolmaster did not receive more than 3s. 6d. per quarter, or 14s. per annum, for communicating instruction in all the ordinary branches, including the elements of mathematics. Even with the moderate remuneration of £60 per annum, and a free house and garden, which till lately constituted the average emoluments of parochial teachers, many accomplished persons were found willing to undertake the duties. Probably one-third of the Scottish clergy were originally parish schoolmasters.

At the parish school I might have done well enough had the teacher been competent. An amiable, kindly man, he conciliated the affections of his pupils, and, keeping them always employed, seemed likely to make them scholars; somehow he did not. His own handwriting was neat and symmetrical, but all his pupils, myself included, wrote the veriest scrawls. He read with a fine musical voice, and with due modulation, but those he taught could not express a single sentence with distinctness. He knew arithmetic, and comprehended geometry, but few of his pupils could claim a mastery of numbers beyond the multiplica-

tion table. He read French and Italian; and my father desired that he should instruct me in the former language; after a year's trial, I was found to understand only a few vocables, and was a stranger to the pronounciation.

Though voting on the liberal side of politics, my father was practically a conservative. His parishioners frequently complained to him that their children made no progress at school, and begged that he would assist in devising a remedy. But he held that it became him to support the parish teacher, and, though tacitly admitting his inefficiency, he would not actively interfere. At length the parishioners built a schoolroom, and, banding together, secured a competent instructor.

I attended the parish school seven years, the first epoch of my life being, so far as public instruction was concerned, absolutely lost. More than lost, I might say, for any little information I acquired in the schoolroom was counterbalanced by the rude manners I contracted in the playground. I also derived, by associating with the children of the peasantry, a manner of speech and provincial dialect which long clung to me.

Besides a school, I had a home education. My father desired that, like himself, I should become an accurate Latinist—indeed he held every accomplishment subordinate to a knowledge of the classics. In my seventh year he brought me as a task-book Ruddy-

man's Latin Rudiments ; and he insisted that I should thoroughly master this book. Unhappily for his skill as an instructor, and my progress in classical knowledge, he kept on year after year drilling me in elementary knowledge. I inclined to go forward, but my advances were repelled. After three years of rudimentary training, I was allowed *Eutropius* as a text-book, but the study of this, or any other author, my father still insisted was subordinate to "the Rudiments."

Though six hours daily were spent at school, and nearly two hours further under my father's personal tuition, I had still a large portion of time at my disposal. Probably from lack of early and suitable companionship, I never had any turn for sports, save in occasionally practising some games of my own invention. Tops and toys of all kinds were wasted upon me ; and I still possess, with its mechanism as perfect as ever, a dog in a box, given me when a child of four years. I was always inclined to practical work,—carrying out some plan,—accomplishing some improvement. My earlier tendencies were mechanical. Remark the operations of carpenters and other mechanics occasionally employed about the manse, I imitated their ways. Though unprovided with tools beyond a rusty hatchet, a hammer, and the fragment of an old table-knife, I repaired door-locks, constructed packing-boxes, and erected timber fences. At the age of seven I had attained such proficiency as

a locksmith that I have frequently been carried from bed to turn the key in a lock which would not yield to older hands. My father discouraged my engineering propensities, but he would toss me a halfpenny as a reward for constructing what might please his fancy; and I once overheard him informing a stranger that I was mechanically ingenious. Any little commendation I received was accompanied with the remark, sententiously spoken, that "I must *mind* my lessons, for all else was play." When I became older my mechanical turn proved of some service, for I executed all the carpenter's work about the place, and could even, in the village smithy, construct articles in brass and iron. I invented a barometer, which I placed in my bedroom window, and which, though of the rudest construction, suited its purpose well. A chemical book fell in my way, and purchasing small quantities of chemicals, I indulged in curious experiments; but having by a mischievous amalgamation of combustibles produced an explosion, which frightened the cook into a faint, I permanently abandoned practical science.

I tried painting. A small box of colours, with a cake of China ink, a little vermilion, a bit of gamboge, and a few lead and hair pencils, constituted my materials. Without a teacher, and under the sole patronage of my kind aunt and the kitchen domestics, I copied engravings and plans, designed figures of all sorts, and sketched and coloured the manse, kirk, and school,

and surrounding objects. Having depicted every nook and corner of the parish, with its woods and waterfalls, farm-steads and cottages, and its only ruin, the old castle of Pitarthie, I desired to extend my artistic field. In achieving this purpose, youthful artist never encountered greater difficulties. As an only child, my father would not allow me beyond his sight, save under the personal attendance of my aunt, the parish schoolmaster, or one of the domestics, and even under such supervision I was strictly prohibited from leaving the parish, an area of about two square miles. This restraint, which, under some modification, continued till I was approaching manhood, was extremely irksome to me, as well as practically injurious.

In my tenth year, while vigorously engaged with my artistic studies, I one morning secretly accompanied one of the domestics, who had been despatched on an errand to an adjacent parish; before returning home I had sketched six churches. My father was of course offended, but as he became reconciled more easily than I had anticipated, I devised an excursion of a more adventurous character. I had heard much of a tree of prodigious size on the farm of Priorletham, which had been named to Dr Johnson.* This great tree I resolved to inspect and sketch. Its locality could be seen from my father's manse, but it was at

* "A tree might be a show in Scotland, as a horse in Venice. At St Andrews Mr Boswell found only one, and recommended it to my notice. I told him that it was rough and low, or looked as if I thought so. 'This,' said he, 'is nothing to another a few miles off'" (Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides).

least five miles distant. Hints to my aunt that I desired to inspect it were lost upon her. "I would see it," she said, "if I was spared to grow up." This was a dreary prospect; so, with a relative, a girl of my own age, I set out one morning to Prior-letham. We started early, and intending to proceed straight on, and to run part of the way, we expected to accomplish the journey of a morning, at least before we were missed. But the route proved a wearisome one. We had to walk through long wet grass, climb fences, tear through hedges, and wade deep water-courses. The tree was not reached till after a journey of several hours. It proved to be a prince of the forest—a spectacle worthy of fatigues greater than ours. An aged sycamore, it covered an area ninety feet square, and rose to a height of sixty-five feet. The stem, twelve feet high, had a minimum girth of fifteen feet four inches, and was twenty-six feet in circumference at the top and base. Twelve principal branches diverged from the stem, each two feet in average diameter. I sketched the tree, and then ascended the stem by a ladder to make some measurements. The top was decayed, and being filled with earth, was covered with a green sward; I considered that it would hold the round table of my father's parlour, and enable the family to be accommodated around it on chairs. The tree was understood to be five hundred years old; for several centuries each tenant of the farm had become bound to pre-

serve it. A few years after my visit it was struck by lightning, and so shattered that it had to be removed. Not returning home till the evening, we found not only the inmates of the manse, but the whole parish, in alarm. Scouts had been sent out everywhere, and the wildest theories were set up. My father was of course very angry, but, as was his wont, he put the blame on my companion as "my adviser." This was most unjust, and I had chivalry enough to feel that adventures, even in the prosecution of art, which brought unmerited reflection on another, should not be persisted in; I made therefore a coloured representation of the tree, and shut up my portfolio. It was my last effort at sketching.

My father did not discourage literary application, and a proposal, made to him in my tenth year, gratified him exceedingly. It was that I should be allowed to re-write and simplify the rules of Ruddiman's Latin Rudiments. To afford me the means of speculating about a language of which I was profoundly ignorant, knowing its grammatical construction only by rote, my father doled out to me daily a sheet of his fine cream-laid gilt-edged post! How many sheets I wasted I cannot say; it is probable I persisted for some time, for any enterprise connected with the Latin rudiments, however wild and extravagant, my father was quite sure not only to tolerate but approve. I may here refer to some other peculiarities of my father. On his writing materials his

expenditure was lavish. He would use only Arnold's glazed black ink, and latterly Stephen's blue fluid at one shilling per bottle. Steel pens he regarded as a contrivance which would ultimately render handwriting illegible, and he always chose for his own use the best ready-made quills. He wrote all his letters on gilt-edged paper, highly glazed, and having carefully folded them, secured them with fancy sealing-wax, on which he impressed his family seal. No minister of state ever composed his despatches with greater care, both in respect of sentiment and diction. His letters of compliment or congratulation were stately and ornate, and abounded with apt classical quotations.

In the course of his studies my father had contracted a strange habit. At college he had wasted the midnight oil; subsequently he intruded on the morning hours. During the period of my recollection, he remained in his parlour till four o'clock every morning, save on that which preceded Sunday. At midnight, when he became drowsy, he dispensed with his chair and stood up. Without any intermission, or the convenience of a suitable desk, he prosecuted his studies till his usual period of retiring. As he remained long in his study, so he long continued in bed, seldom rising before noon, and he did not breakfast before one, as his toilet, a most laborious affair, always occupied an hour. To the last he used hair-powder, a privilege for which he paid an annual tax of twenty-

five shillings. He dressed with punctilious neatness, his garments being of the finest quality, and in the newest style of fashion ; his linens, renewed daily, were of the most spotless purity. He wore a voluminous necktie, which led a satirical friend to style him the "British Linen Company," a *sobriquet* which he enjoyed.

My father's peculiar habits, though not conducive to domestic order, were eminently serviceable to myself. I rose early, and having unrestricted access to the library, I read many works in general literature. My father subscribed for the "Popular Encyclopedia" in numbers, and I made myself familiar with each as it appeared. To Scottish history and antiquities I was especially devoted. Before I had completed my eleventh year I had read the two large quartos of Holinshed's "Scottish Chronicle," while I bitterly lamented that the histories of Buchanan and Major were composed in Latin. I discovered that my school companions, and even their seniors, had no acquaintance with the national history, and I resolved to instruct them. I compiled an abridgment of Holinshed, which, in my father's manner, I inscribed on sheets of gilt-edged post, and got neatly done up with an ornamental title, introduction, and table of contents. The performance I proposed to publish at the subscription price of sixpence. To the church-officer I communicated my intention, and requested him to make my proposal known in the parish. He reported to me

that he had spoken to one of the principal farmers, who said he could not afford to buy new books. Disgusted that my historical effort was not better countenanced, I committed my MS. to the flames.

I have mentioned the church-officer. He was an agricultural labourer of the better class, for he executed work by contract, and employed others. Intelligent and well-informed, he had great conversational talent, and on all occasions I delighted to be with him. When a child, he told me of "Wallace wight," and of his patriotic and stirring achievements, and he was the first to instruct me in the poetry of Burns. He gave me in loan Hamilton's version of Henry the Minstrel's "Wallace," a book which, to use a figure, I *devoured*. Day after day I read with increasing interest and exultation how Wallace smote the oppressors of his country. The defeat at Falkirk, accompanied as it was by the death of Sir John the Graeme, deeply moved me, and the eleventh book of the poem containing this sad story I not only transcribed but committed to memory. My father, who discouraged all studies unconnected with "the lessons," tolerated my enthusiasm for Wallace, and told me that the patriot's ardour had been enkindled by the following Latin adage taught him by his uncle :

"Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum :
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili."

My father I afterwards found had spoken on the authority of Major.

I began early to collect a library. As I despised toys, I bestowed my pence in the acquisition of books, first at the uniform price of one penny, afterwards of twopence. Till I had seen the Minstrel's "Wallace," I invested in such books as "Sindbad the Sailor," "Cinderella," "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp," "Jack the Giant Killer," and an abridgment of "Robinson Crusoe." Now my course of reading was changed. I purchased a small prose history of Wallace, which interested me greatly. A prose history of King Robert the Bruce was followed by a copy of Barbour's metrical history of that patriot king. I longed to see Falkirk, and to survey Bannockburn. Patriotism animated my whole being. From old walls and sequestered hillocks I declaimed, to the wonderment of my father's herd, Burns's inimitable ode, "Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled." Every old ballad which celebrated chivalry and heroism I added to my collection. My aunt had taught me "Gil Morice," and introduced me to the "Gentle Shepherd;" the church-officer gave me "Chevy Chase;" and my father, who did not discountenance my patriotic ardour, encouraged me to read the "Tragedy of Douglas." John Home, who composed it, was, he said, a Latin scholar.

I had wept at the fate of Wallace, and hated the race that slew him. But I was more than reconciled by learning that a descendant of the Bruce sat on King Edward's throne. When William IV. died in

June 1837, I hoisted a flag half-mast high ; and when the Queen was crowned, I was privileged to discharge a blunderbuss.

Of the old patriotic ballads I attempted imitations, and encouraged by my aunt, showed some of the compositions to my father. He remarked that I had some power of rhyming, but that time not applied to my "lessons" was more than wasted. I endeavoured to gratify him by turning an English ballad into Latin verse, but the attempt was pronounced, as it certainly was, a feeble one. I had still a kitchen auditory. I enjoyed the constant approbation of the cook, and the village tailor regarded me as a genius. Happening, however, to lampoon an unhappy parishioner who had an impediment in his speech, my rhyming was permanently interdicted.

I have referred to my love of antiquities. My father was not only a skilful mineralogist long before geology was elevated into a science, but he was addicted to archæological studies. An uncle, my father's brother, was learned in some antiquarian departments with which my father was less familiar ; he possessed a valuable collection of coins and medals, and had opened cairns and ransacked old castles and ancient registers. When my father and uncle talked about antiquities, I was a willing listener, and under the guardianship of the latter, I visited every neighbouring locality associated with old tale or curious legend. My father's manse occupied an elevation on the right bank of a small

valley, through which flows a small stream, known as Dunino Burn. Within two hundred yards of the manse the valley is crossed by a bed of indurated sandstone, the barrier of an ancient lake. In process of time the water had forced an outlet by cutting through the sandstone bed, whereby were formed two opposing cliffs, about twelve feet apart, and each twenty feet high. The eastern and more projecting cliff was known as the Bel-craig; it was reported to contain an artificial hollow, and to be associated with religious rites. As my father was opposed to superstition, I vainly besought him to make an examination. At length, with the assistance of the cowherd, I commenced excavations personally. At first I removed the sod from the summit of the rock, casting it into the stream beneath. The rock began to present a level surface, covered with loose earth. Day after day, while my father enjoyed his morning slumbers, did my companion and myself diligently pursue our labours. These efforts were not fruitless. In the centre of the rock surface we discovered a tubulated hollow, nearly two and a half feet in diameter, and two and a half feet deep. Removing the contents, we restored the Bel-craig to its ancient aspect.

For the origin of this ancient tubulation I am unable to account satisfactorily. When, in 1868, I invited attention to the subject in a well-known serial, the late Dr Robert Chambers visited the spot,

and afterwards communicated his views to the Philosophical Society of St Andrews. Dr Chambers held that the basin was of the same class as the giants' tubs (Reisen-topf or Jette-gryder), which he had inspected in Norway, and which Scandinavian geologists pronounced to have been formed by cascades during the glacial period. To that theory I offered the objections that the basin occupies a central position, such as an iceberg would not select, while the surface of the rock in which it is placed bears indication of having been artificially levelled. In an interview which I subsequently had with Dr Chambers, he seemed to regard his theory as untenable.

In Scotland, the rock basin at Dunino is unique ; but there are similar tubulations in the rocks of Lancashire and Yorkshire ; while in the granite rocks of Cornwall such cavities are common. In Cornwall they abound in the slopes of Karnbie Hill, while curiously enough, the parish which borders the Belcraig on the south-west, is named Carnbee—the letter K being unknown in the Gaelic. The ancient Britons constructed wells in rocks on the margins of lakes, in which the priests collected dew, and therewith purified both themselves and the people. Hence the practice of ascending the hills on *Beltein* or May-day, to bathe the face in the early dew. The name Bel or Bal, a common prefix in Scottish place-names, has been variously explained to signify a tree, a house, or a village ; it is known to designate the

outlet of a lake—there is a Balloch at the mouth of Loch Lomond, also of Loch Tay.

Whether these suggestions may serve to account for the origin of the rock basin at Dunino, I shall not say. The farm on which it is situated was, two centuries ago, known as Balelie—it is now called Bely, denoting *the house on the crag*. A farm immediately to the eastward is named Balcaithly—pointing to a clachan or place of worship. Other places at Dunino are derived from the ancient Gaelic, such as Balrymont, Pitarthie, Pittendreich, and Kinaldie.

A few hundred yards eastward of Dunino manse is a conical eminence, from which the parish derives its name. Prior to 1815 it was covered with furze and a mass of loose stones, but in that year a handloom weaver dreamed that by removing the rubbish he would discover treasure. Along with a member of his family he laboured on the hill for six months, but found nothing more precious than a quern or hand corn-mill, which he presented to my father. I lately deposited it in the British Museum. According to tradition the hill was the site of a Danish fort; the ancient name of the parish, *Dun-nenach*, denotes, in Gaelic, a small fortified hill.

At Chesters, about one and a half miles to the south-west of Dunino church, were found, within my own recollection, a large number of bronze celts, of the simplest construction; they were purchased by my uncle, and added to his cabinet. Cinerary urns

were often found, but these generally fell to pieces on exposure.

At a period much less remote than that indicated by celts and urns, the district, which included my native parish, was a place of royal hunting. A large portion of this tract was known as *Cursus Apri*, or the Boar's Chase, and was granted by Alexander I., in the twelfth century, to the Church of St Andrews. Places in the neighbourhood of Dunino bear the names of Kingsmuir, Kingsbarns, and Kenly, all associated with royal sports.

Amidst scenes recalling the usages and habits of bygone times, I obtained the means of cultivating my antiquarian tastes. My father was custodier of the parish registers, and as he had undertaken a history of the parish for the "New Statistical Account," he was not unwilling that I should occupy a portion of time in discovering entries which might prove of public interest. The registers, which contained the proceedings of the kirk session, commenced in 1643, and as I soon mastered the handwriting, I made a thorough examination of the earlier volumes. Kirk sessions acted for more than a century after the Reformation as a sort of police courts—the members consisting of the minister, as perpetual president or moderator, and a body of persons, known as lay elders. They not only administered funds raised for support of the poor, but were careful to exercise an active and rigid discipline. They appointed certain

of their number to visit persons who absented themselves from church, and authorised the church-officer to remove the cloaks of such aged and feeble women as might in church compose themselves to sleep. They inflicted censures on such as danced at weddings and merry-makings. Consulting with witches and other superstitious rites they strictly prohibited. The observance of Yule or Christmas they denounced emphatically. Kirk sessions also took cognisance of offences against the person, such as assault and theft. None dared to ignore their citations or resist their decrees, for the Geneva discipline which they exercised, included the power of excommunication, or of excluding the contumacious from food or shelter. They punished by fine or imprisonment, and in severe cases placed the offender in the jagg, an instrument which made him fast by the neck in a kneeling attitude, as a spectacle to those who entered church.

But kirk sessions were, in the exercise of discipline, chiefly occupied in dealing with cases of illegitimacy. In no country of Europe have offenders against social order been more promptly and severely punished than in Scotland, and in no country has the evil more thoroughly defied every attempt to check or suppress it. At Dunino nearly every householder, save the minister, the parish schoolmaster, and the resident landowners, had at some time or other undergone the discipline of the kirk session, in connection with illegitimacy. And this course of irregularity might

not be ascribed to any lack of pastoral supervision. A similar condition of affairs had existed for at least two hundred years. The records of the kirk session showed that offenders were regularly brought up, and made to stand on the stool of repentance in presence of the congregation, and even to kneel at the church door, neck-bound in the degrading jagg. Yet, from year to year, and generation to generation, the evil continued.

There were several prevailing causes. Excess in the use of stimulants may be named. Formerly there was a *brew-house* in every hamlet, and persons of both sexes congregated there or in the ale-house. House accommodation was wretched, and in utter antagonism to all the decencies of life. There was a rigid or Puritanic strictness on the part of housewives which, by prohibiting their maidens from associating with their male friends at reasonable hours, led them to hold clandestine meetings at seasons and under circumstances most unfavourable to virtue. The popular minstrelsy was degrading; the best melodies being associated with words which blunted feeling and excited levity. As many of these causes have ceased, it is to be hoped that the enormous evil to which they have conduced will abate, or cease.

My father inculcated a rigorous morality. Yet it did not, as we have seen, avail in checking social irregularities. Dr Chalmers is, I conceive, correct in asserting that the most eloquent declamation in the

cause of morals will not avail in suppressing vice or upholding virtue. Men must come to the fountain of Divine grace and wash therein. Jesus Christ, the end of the law, is the beginning of the Gospel; He died not to help men to repent, but to give them repentance; not primarily to reward the obedient, but to teach that obedience is possible only through His sustaining righteousness. As the tree cannot flourish without sap, so in the moral world there is no wholesome fruit-bearing without grace. Good works, which spring from a graceless heart, are like gawds upon a Christmas-tree, glittering and beautiful enough, but they fall off. But that holiness which is the offspring of faith is pervading and permeating. He who is rooted in Christ is like a tree planted by rivers of water; his leaf shall not wither, nor his fruit decay. I could have desired that my father's teaching had contained these truths more fully.

But every period has its prevailing views and tendencies. At the Reformation, and long afterwards, the Scottish clergy inveighed against superstition, and commended that stern morality which tainted Presbyterianism with asceticism. Then followed the persecutions of the seventeenth century, when Presbyterian preachers inculcated faith, but cultivated revenge. To the fiery zeal of Covenanting times succeeded the apathy of the eighteenth century, when the Church, crushed under the iron heel of secular patronage, forgot cardinal truths, and substituted a frigid formalism. During

my father's early ministry there had been a partial awakening from that insipid religiousness which sometimes fell into and always bordered on Socinianism. But the old leaven adhered to many. The most prejudiced of educated persons was the Scottish parson of the old school. Those who, in the eighteenth century, were keenly opposed to dancing and play-going, regarded convivial excess with a genial indulgence. They resisted the use of hymns or paraphrases in public and domestic worship, and strictly prohibited instrumental music as a remnant of superstition, yet approved of men entering church with their hats on, and did not condemn gallons of whisky being consumed at bridals, births, and death-wakes. When a fund was a century ago established to make provision for their widows and orphan children, many of the clergy were frantic with indignation. An old minister on the braes of Angus married at the age of three-score and ten a girl of seventeen to obtain his revenge on the fund.

While sharing many of the narrow views of the old school, and regarding the lifeless discourses of Dr Hugh Blair as models of Christian eloquence, my father otherwise abhorred every system of religious teaching which excluded or ignored the doctrine of substitution or vicarious sacrifice. He discoursed of the love of God in the gift of a Saviour, and expatiated on the benefits of redemption. As a child, I was taught to follow Christ as the only sure way of life and duty. I

was charged against the use of oaths, and called at every meal openly to acknowledge the Divine Giver. It was related as an anecdote of my childhood, that having noticed that a carter, who drove my father's coals, had neglected, while dining in the kitchen, to invoke the Divine blessing, I stood beside him and *said grace*; the carter asked a blessing ever afterwards.

From childhood till my fifteenth year I was extremely delicate. Every epidemic which visited the locality was sure to seize me, and I was subject to many ailments which were not epidemic. On an average I spent two months annually in bed, or within the walls of my bed-chamber. When sickness permitted, I occupied myself in reading, or in curious research. I became expert as a genealogist, and by an examination of the baptismal registers, formed tabulated pedigrees of different families in the parish. Those whose lines of descent I set forth were never informed of my labours, as my father conceived, not unwisely, that they would be inclined to fancy I was allowed too much liberty with the records. When, assisted by my uncle, I repaired an old dial in the churchyard, an aged parishioner remarked to my father that he was distressed by remarking such unhallowed operations on "a burial stane." In my fifteenth year I had a severe attack of typhoid fever, from which I recovered slowly, but my health subsequently was more robust.

I cannot say that I chose a profession. It was determined that I should be a clergyman when I was

so very young that I cannot recollect that the subject was ever seriously talked of. The selection was made for me, no doubt, as a matter of expediency. For any other profession my father did not possess a single sovereign to start me with. Chiefly confined to the desk and library from his earliest years, he was a most deplorable financier; none could have been worse. His income, never exceeding £300 per annum, was not equal during my boyhood to half that amount. Some years before my birth he had been called on by a decree of the provincial sheriff to destroy a favourite dog, which was charged with sheep-killing. He agreed to pay the value of the sheep, but refused to destroy his dog. An appeal from the decision of the provincial judge to the Supreme Court led to a seven years' suit. On all points my father obtained judgment, but costs were not given. The result, aggravated by his own inefficient administration of his affairs, impoverished him for thirty years. From his inexpensive habits, my father might in a measure have retrieved his losses. But from his hands money flowed as sand in an hour-glass. He lacked arithmetical skill and power of calculation. On those who importuned his aid, he bestowed benefactions which his circumstances did not warrant. He fancied himself expert in business, by procuring receipts from all to whom he paid moneys, but he bundled up the documents with letters, notebooks, and old sermons, so that when required, they

could not be found. Becoming painfully familiar with his arithmetical deficiencies, and suspecting that he often paid accounts which were already discharged, I procured from him in my twelfth year a reluctant permission to examine a portion of his papers, and put in order his receipts. Not long afterwards a mechanic called for payment of his account. My father, to whom I had already presented a report of the case, said to his visitor, "My son has been exercising himself in arithmetic by keeping my accounts, and it will amuse and gratify him if you will go over the receipts with him." The mechanic, commending my precocity, and assuming his spectacles, assented and drew me affectionately towards him. My father stood by, enjoying the scene, and helping the mechanic with excuses, as payment after payment proved to be unentered in his bill. The result, I fear, did not elevate me in the mechanic's favour, for I proved that my father owed him nothing. From another claim, I was, by producing receipts, enabled to strike off sums amounting in the aggregate to eighteen pounds.

When I had passed my fourteenth birthday it was arranged that I should be sent to college. Through my father's old friends, professors at St Andrews, I obtained one of the best scholarships or bursaries—the sum of ten pounds annually for eight years. So, in November 1839, I exchanged my dreary winters in the country for a boarding-house in the little city of St Andrews.

In sending me to the university in my fifteenth year, without any adequate preparatory training, my father acted unwisely. From his own teaching, though extending over a period of seven years, I had derived no substantial advantage, further than that I could repeat *verbatim* the Latin rudiments. Of Greek I knew only the letters; for when I proposed to commence Greek studies, my father reverted to his old position that I ought first to be grounded in the Latin rudiments! When I entered college, my father engaged a senior student to read with me, but this proved no real advantage, for I left everything to the tutor, and otherwise followed my own course. Falling behind from the first, I began to despair of ever getting ahead, and, with the lack of ambition, I ceased to apply myself. A mathematician, even of the humblest grade, I could not have become, under any extent of application, for I had no conception of quantity or numbers. I was interested in natural science, but a lack of mathematical training disqualified me from making progress in physical studies. The class of chemistry was not included in what was termed a philosophical curriculum, so, as his means were circumscribed, my father thought it had better be omitted or postponed. After attending the literary and philosophical classes four years, I entered the Divinity college, but I cannot say that my theological studies were prosecuted very ardently. From the desultory character of my early training, I had fallen

into a lethargy, which bade defiance to every attempt at systematic study.

But at no period of my career can I charge myself with idleness. Though neglecting the business of the classes, I was energetic in other pursuits. Recreation of every kind was abhorrent to me ; I eschewed sports and games. My father recommended golf on account of the exercise it would afford me ; but a fellow-student, on my first going out, awkwardly hit me with his club, and I played no more. I never tossed a quoit or a hand-ball, and I have not, during my whole life, wasted half-an-hour at card-playing. From early morn till late at eve, when not in attendance at the classes, I assiduously prosecuted my peculiar studies. Having, as a student, access to the university library, I obtained therefrom books on Scottish history and antiquities, which the librarian declared had not been disturbed for centuries ! During my first four years at the university I had examined every work relating to the civil, literary, or ecclesiastical history of Scotland, which the library contained. Often did the librarian lose temper with me, and declare I was the bane of his existence ; but I have some satisfaction in reflecting that while I gave him extra trouble, I had the privilege, on two occasions, of presenting him with monetary gifts.

My first public effort, so far as I remember, was connected with university reform. When I became

a student at St Andrews, books from the university library were supplied to the students on the condition that they deposited a sovereign in the hands of the librarian, in guarantee that the books borrowed should be returned, while a fee of five shillings, for the privilege of using the library, was also exacted. Convening a meeting of my class-fellows, I set forth that the library was established mainly for the use of the students, and showed that the deposit, which subjected many to inconvenience, was an unnecessary precaution, since the same object might be secured by class-certificates being withheld from defaulters. A memorial embodying my views was submitted to the *Senatus Academicus*, which unanimously acceded to its prayer. Our moneys were forthwith returned, and by a few of my fellow-students I was presented with a silver snuff-box, in appreciation of my services.

The gift of a snuff-box was not quite suitable, for I did not snuff, or use tobacco in any form. I did, indeed, make an attempt at smoking in my eighteenth year, being assured by one of my fellows that it was a gentlemanly accomplishment, but I was seized with such a prostrating sickness that I made no second effort to qualify me for good society. My progenitors generally eschewed both the snuff-mull and tobacco-pipe.

I became a newspaper writer at an early age. Prior to my sixteenth year I was the unsalaried correspondent of four weekly journals. My favourite

themes were Scottish history and antiquities. I also reported the proceedings of public assemblies : at the table of the local presbytery I sat five years, noting its discussions.

As an important organ in regulating public opinion, the press early impressed and interested me. Remarking that when a newspaper paragraph was traced to its author, it ceased to possess that weight which otherwise attached to it, I became reticent respecting my contributions. I was abundantly recompensed when that which I reported or discussed, was talked of, especially when my compositions were ascribed to persons older than myself. The most signal triumph I had in this way I mention as a matter of history, but otherwise as a subject of regret. Subsequent to the Disruption of the Scottish Church in May 1843, a question appeared in a provincial newspaper inquiring whether Sir David Brewster, as a seceding elder, might retain his office in the university. That question was answered the week following in the same journal by *Lex*, a professed lawyer, who pronounced Sir David as having incapacitated himself for his post. Other letters followed in the same and other newspapers, while latterly was produced a section of the Treaty of Union, which plainly affirmed that no principal or professor in any university should be allowed to continue in office on renouncing connection with the Established Church. The entire agitation was conducted by myself.

When the Presbytery of St Andrews held their monthly meeting on the 5th July, Mr Anstruther Taylor, minister of Carnbee, informed his brethren that they had, he conceived, been remiss in not proceeding against Sir David Brewster at their former meeting, since the subject had at length been enforced upon them by the public press. My father, whom I had not informed of my concern in the affair, concurred with his reverend brother, and supported a motion that Sir David should be summoned. At a future meeting Sir David was served with an indictment, declaring that by joining a body of seceders from the Church as by law established, he had forfeited his office as Principal of the United College, and concluding for his deprivation, "that others might hear and fear the danger and detriment of following divisive courses."

Two eminent counsel, employed by the presbytery to prepare the indictment, produced a written opinion asserting that their clients were acting *ultra vires*; and by the next General Assembly the proceedings received a permanent *quietus*. But the presbytery's attempt to revive the provisions of an obsolete statute hastened the repeal of university tests, and so emancipated from ecclesiastical control the lay professors of Scottish colleges.

Brought up as I was in the narrowest groove of ecclesiastical exclusiveness, it is less remarkable that, as a youth of eighteen, I should have been ardent in

upholding the opinions of my seniors, than that a body of Presbyterian clergymen should have sought to deprive of his office and emoluments an eminent philosopher, on the ground that he had joined another section of the Presbyterian Church. The presbytery were not wholly actuated by public considerations. Though, as a man of science, entitled to the highest honours, Sir David Brewster lacked temper and discretion. With his colleagues in the university he was at open variance. In 1840, just three years before the attempt made by the presbytery to deprive him of his office, he had, as rector, expelled from the university a number of students on various charges, but mainly for denying the powers of his rectorial court; of these, several were students in theology, and the sons of clergymen.

As the act of expulsion, though unsanctioned by the university, might have led to unpleasant complications, the Commission of the General Assembly enjoined the Presbytery of St Andrews to investigate the charges. The presbytery did so, by conducting a searching examination of each particular case. At the presbyterial inquiry, Sir David attended personally, and urged his accusations against the young men with unseemly pertinacity. By a unanimous judgment, his charges were found untenable; and this decision was confirmed by the General Assembly. But Sir David had excited against himself a prejudice strong and vehement; he was regarded as an

oppressor of the inexperienced, and as one whose ungovernable temper disqualified him from properly discharging the duties of president of an educational institution.

I was much too young to take any part in the proceedings of 1840, but I had interested my father in several of the expelled students; and, old as he was, he sat six successive days as a member of presbytery, watching and restraining the excited principal in his attempt to convict those whom he had condemned. At the fireside my father would relate incidents of "the students' trial," in which, to my youthful imagination, Sir David appeared the very impersonation of cruelty. I became deeply prejudiced against him, so deeply that I believed that the severest castigation would fall short of his demerits. My father did not encourage these sentiments; he counselled me to attend to my "books and lessons;" but I was ardent and impetuous, and I found certain members of the university not indisposed to read and enjoy letters and paragraphs, by means of which, in the local journals, I dealt out censure against their obnoxious colleague.

In 1842 a series of papers appeared in the *Northern Warder*, a journal published at Dundee, reflecting on the professors of the United College, as administrators of the *foundation bursaries*. These papers were ascribed to Sir David Brewster, and were certainly prepared under his direction. Neglecting

graver studies, I undertook a defence of the professors in a series of papers which I contributed to the *Dundee Courier* newspaper; and when the assailant published his strictures in a pamphlet, I presented mine in a similar form. For this juvenile effort I received the special thanks of a distinguished member of the university, who also discharged the printer's bill. On a public occasion I put myself forward personally as Sir David's antagonist. On the first Monday of March 1843 the professors and students met as a *comitia*, to make choice of a rector. After the initiatory formalities, the members divided themselves into four *nations*, each of which chose a delegate or *intrans*. According to custom, the four intrants would have adjourned to a separate chamber, there to elect the rector, and to appoint one of their number publicly to intimate their choice.

Practically, the election was an empty form, for the principals of the two colleges and the two professors of divinity were the only persons eligible, while each of them had in turn to be three years out of office before being re-elected. Almost invariably the election passed off quietly, while subsequent to the ceremony the intrants and their procurators or proposers were entertained by the professors at a refection of wine and cake. I was four years in succession chosen representative or intrant of the *Fife nation*.

Before the rector's election, in March 1843, a

rumour prevailed that Sir David Brewster, whose turn it was to receive office, intended to involve his colleagues in certain legal difficulties. He was to recommend the election of an extrinsic rector—a proceeding which, unsanctioned by law or usage, might have involved the university in serious complications. In their collective capacity the members of the university were patrons of the chair of medicine, received an exchequer grant for the library, and conferred degrees in theology and the arts, and any of their acts, on these or other matters, might have been held invalid, if the rector or president had been illegally chosen.

To prevent an occurrence greatly apprehended, I was honoured with consultations by the leading professors, and was, by common consent, admitted to the leadership of what was termed the constitutional party. The tactics of Sir David were these: he determined, on being nominated rector, to resign office, and after severely animadverting on his colleagues, in presence of the students, to recommend the appointment of a rector unconnected with the institution; he was then to suggest that Dr Chalmers should be chosen. I had resolved, if possible, to secure a majority of delegates unfavourable to Sir David's return, and to propose a resolution, declining to nominate a rector, in which event the rector of the preceding year would have continued to preside at the university table; next, if unable to prevent Sir David's nomination, to protest against

his taking his seat, on account of his not meeting the requirements of certain old charters or papal bulls, which provided that the rector should hold orders in the Church. Lastly, should Sir David resign, and recommend the election of one apart from the *viri rectorales*, I intended to prevent the proceeding by proving that two elections might not take place in the same year.

When the *nations* returned to the rectorial hall to nominate their delegates, it was found that those favourable to Sir David's views had obtained a majority. Retiring to deliberate, the delegates were informed that one rector only might be elected on the occasion. It was therefore determined to nominate Dr Chalmers at once. This was done amidst much noise and confusion; and Sir David, who was uninformed that his programme had been departed from, began to return thanks "for the honour" conferred upon him. I stopped him by speaking to order, remarking, not very courteously, that as he had not been elected, I was saved the necessity of protesting against his return, on account of his not being in orders; while one of my supporters intimated that Dr Chalmers had refused to be put in nomination. A stormy scene followed, in which much uncourteous language was exchanged between Sir David and his colleagues. Next day the university declared the election null, and adopted severe measures against those students who had contra-

vened the rules of the institution. This severe discipline was overruled by a royal commission. By an Act of Parliament passed on the 2d August 1858, the matriculated students of St Andrews obtained the right of electing an extrinsic rector, and the privilege has, on every occasion, been most judiciously exercised.

It would be unjust to the memory of a distinguished philosopher, if, in placing on record the narrative of some of his errors, I should not likewise refer to the better qualities of his mind and heart. Inheriting from his father a nervous temperament, Sir David Brewster was prone to resentment, and, in conducting public affairs, was impatient and irritable. But he was in the circle of his friends kind and gentle; he was an obliging neighbour, an upright man, and a sincere Christian. I met him at the Wallace Monument demonstration at Stirling in 1856, on terms of perfect amity, and afterwards had some pleasant correspondence with him. He contributed to the monument to James Hogg, the Ettrick poet, which I got erected in 1860. Apologising to me for being unable to take part in its inauguration, in a letter dated 5th June 1860, he adds: "On so interesting an occasion I should have recalled with pleasure the agreeable visit I paid to the poet at Mount Benger, and the equally agreeable ones I received from him on the banks of the Tweed, when he came to Melrose fair to dispose of his lambs."

I have copiously referred to one of my preceptors with whom I was at variance; with all the other members of the university I was on terms of friendship. In the family of Dr James Hunter, the Professor of Logic, a college friend of my father's, I was a frequent guest; and though he was not very accessible, I believe I enjoyed a fair share of his esteem. His wife, Jean Wilson, daughter of Dr Charles Wilson, Professor of Church History, and sister of the first wife of Francis Jeffrey, was a woman of singular originality and wit; and it is much to be regretted that her sayings have not been collected and published. Possessed of marvellous acuteness, she expressed herself pithily, and with a piquant humour. A vein of sarcasm in which she indulged would have been excruciating to the victims, but that it was relieved by compliments happily interwoven. Her husband obscured good talents and respectable scholarship through an indolence which grew upon and latterly overwhelmed him. I dined with him, by special invitation, about a week before his death; he was then so feeble that he sank down from his chair, and was carried to his bed-chamber.

Professor Thomas Gillespie, of the Latin chair, was a man of no inconsiderable genius. Of humble origin, he fought his way, aided by a little patronage, first to a church living, and latterly to a professorship. He was an expert, though not very accurate

Latinist, a graceful versifier, and an overpowering humorist. His contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine*, entitled "Sketches of Village Character," and his "Adventures of Ill Tam," and "Feelings and Fortunes of a Scottish Tutor" in *Constable's Magazine*, afford excellent evidence of his literary skill and intense facetiousness. With Professor Gillespie I was intimate from childhood; he frequently enjoyed the sport of angling in *Dunino Burn*, and was often a guest at my father's table. I became very familiar with him, and enjoyed his intercourse both in the library and at the dining-table. His second wife, a sister of the Lord Chancellor Campbell, essentially aided her husband in the graces of hospitality.

The Professor of Moral Philosophy, Dr George Cook, I regarded with respect and veneration. He largely honoured me with his confidence, and gave me the assurance of his friendship. Of my early patrons, he held the chief place in my regard. He viewed every subject with an intelligent calmness, and in the light of common sense. His views, as leader of the Moderate party in the Church, were in a measure circumscribed, but he opposed pluralities and upheld orthodoxy. His class lectures embraced the results of wide and varied reading, were abundantly perspicuous, and were delivered with energy. His histories of the Church of Scotland and of the Reformation, and other works, severally display acute research and accurate criticism. He died in 1845.

From Dr Robert Haldane, Principal of St Mary's College, I received attention from boyhood ; when I became older, I was honoured with his friendship. With some peculiar manners, Principal Haldane was a laborious and conscientious teacher ; nor was he content that his students should be properly instructed ; he earnestly sought to promote their success in life. To his recommendation many persons now occupying respectable positions in the Church and the universities were indebted for early advancement. He and Sir David Brewster, who was Principal of the United College, were long at variance ; they became friends through the intervention of the Duke of Argyll, on his being installed Chancellor of the University. The reconciliation gave rise to a witty saying of Mr James Macbean, the university librarian, which both combatants enjoyed. "Our new chancellor," said the wit, "is a clever casuist ; he has reconciled opposing principles" [principals].

Dr George Buist, of the Church History chair, was more remarkable as a kind, friendly man, than as a university professor. His manner, cold and formal, did not encourage intimacy, but he was essentially beneficent. I was often at his house, and was allowed the privileges of an equal.

William Tennant, LL.D., author of "Anster Fair," and other poems, was Professor of Oriental Languages. The kindness shown him by my father

when he taught Dunino parish school, he cordially returned to myself. Lame in both his feet, he was much of a literary recluse. But I was occasionally at his table, and he was most friendly otherwise.

Dr John Reid, Professor of Medicine, I knew intimately; he died in 1849, in his fortieth year. Of gentle and retiring manners, Dr Reid rejoiced to befriend the young and inexperienced. He attended medically, without charge, those who required his aid. His “Physiological and Pathological Researches” is a valuable contribution to medical science.

Among my class-fellows at St Andrews who evinced superior ability, I name together William Ramsay, subsequently minister of Guthrie, and John Robertson, afterwards of Glasgow. Both have been gathered to their fathers; and their memoirs, with some of their literary remains, have been published. Ramsay died shortly after entering on the pastoral duties. Robertson’s career was more extended. He was in 1848, in his twenty-fourth year, ordained minister of Mains and Strathmartin; and ten years afterwards was transferred to the Cathedral Church, Glasgow. He received the degree of D.D. from the University of St Andrews, and was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow College. As a student, he was distinguished for the variety of his attainments; he obtained, as a mathematician, the highest honours; held a first place in the classics, and was an accomplished theologian. His moral qualities were not inferior to his intel-

lectual precocity. When at a meeting of students he rose to speak, there was a hush, and all prepared to listen reverently. Great as his success in life was, I expected that he would have attained a wider popularity. But he was singularly retiring. He died in 1865, at the age of forty-one. William Gray, now D.D., and minister of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh, excelled in all his classes, composed neatly, and declaimed with a persuasive eloquence. Had he been appointed to any chair in the university, his fellows would have possessed entire confidence as to his discharging the duties competently and with acceptance.

John Tulloch, now D.D., and Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, was esteemed as a classicist, and a powerful and elegant writer. As a graceful contributor of prose and verse to different periodicals, John Anderson, now D.D., and minister of Kinnoull, held no second place in general regard. William Purdie Dickson, now D.D., and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, was known as a critic and general scholar.

My own studies, apart from newspaper writing, continued to be chiefly historical. To the columns of the *Fife Herald* newspaper I contributed papers on the history of St Andrews, for which I received some pecuniary acknowledgment. During the summer vacations I made excursions to various localities in my native county, which I described in the *Fifeshire*

Journal. An early excursion was to *Magus Muir*, a wild district, four miles west of St Andrews, where, in 1679, Archbishop James Sharp was cruelly murdered. I visited the *Standing Stones of Largo*—three huge monoliths reared at the graves of some forgotten chiefs. At the Runic cross of Mugdrum, I was introduced to a class of ancient monuments which has interested me ever since. Macduff's Cross, with its curious associations, and celebrated by Sir Walter Scott, led me to indulge in fanciful speculation. I inspected Falkland Palace, a favourite resort of royalty; Lindores Abbey, the burial-place of the murdered Duke of Rothesay, and of the haughty Earl of Douglas; and the Mount and Denmylne House, associated with Sir David Lyndsay, and Sir James Balfour, poets and kings of arms. Passing into Perthshire, I inspected the round tower of Abernethy; the city of Perth on the Tay, where the Romans recognised the aspects of their own Tiber and Campus Martius; Dunkeld, with its old cathedral and modern hermitage; the romantic Pass of Killiecrankie, where the brave Dundee fell in an unpatriotic cause; Dunsinane, where Macbeth held his fortress; Lynedoch, the seat of the gallant and ennobled Graham; and the picturesque Almond bank, where rest Bessy Bell and Mary Gray, heroines of song and ballad. During a pedestrian tour in Forfarshire, I inspected the Runic crosses of Meigle, Glamis, St Vigean, and Aberlemno; Glamis Castle, the

death-place of Malcolm II. ; Arbroath Abbey, where William the Lion was buried, and where Cardinal Beaton ruled as abbot ; Restennet Priory, with its curious traditions ; Airlie Castle, associated with Jacobitism and song ; the castles of Hatton and Bannatyne, where lived Lord Oliphant and the industrious Bannatyne ; Balfour Castle, a residence of Cardinal Beaton ; the remains of Castle Durward ; Finhaven Hill, with its vitrified fort ; and the wild crags and romantic cascades of the Reekie Linn, Achrannie, and Craighall.

At Dundee I saw the spot where George Wishart preached the doctrines of Reformation. There, too, I was introduced to scenes associated with the illustrious Wallace—saw where he had been educated at the cathedral school ; where he met Blair, his future chaplain ; and where, to revenge an insult, he slew young Selby. I traced him at Kilspindie and at Kinnoull, escaping from his pursuers ; at Auchterhouse with Ramsay, his brave associate ; at Kinclaven, where he surprised the English garrison ; at Gascon Hall, where, according to the Minstrel, he saw the ghost of Fawdoun.

Journeys to these and other localities were made at rare intervals, and always under difficulty, for my father was not only unwilling that I should ever leave home, but he could never spare me the means of travelling. My aunt derived a little income from her dairy, and she ungrudgingly bestowed on me all

that she could spare. When I became older, my pen furnished my wardrobe and otherwise helped me.

At home my surroundings were not very enjoyable. I had not a single companion of my own age, save when, in quest of books from the university library, I proceeded to St Andrews, or visited at rare intervals a neighbouring manse. From the late Mr Peter Cleg-horn of Wakefield, a resident landowner, I received hospitality and kindness ; and I was greatly privileged and profited by frequent visits to Kingsmuir House, the seat of Mr George Francis Hannay, who had a young and amiable family. At home I experienced an unvaried routine.

That routine may be described : I rose at eight, breakfasted on bread and milk, and when the weather was fine, proceeded to a sort of arbour in the garden, where I sat reading till I was informed by a female screech that my presence was required. This announcement implied that my father was ready for breakfast, the hour being about one. I now took my place at table, and partook of oat cakes and butter. I got a potato luncheon at three, and at seven o'clock, or later, was summoned to dinner. When I became master of my own time, which might be about my eighteenth year, I did not tarry long at meals, but occupied nearly my whole time in study. On an average I studied twelve hours daily, nor has this habit been abandoned. Before my twenty-first year I had waded through the principal magazines and

reviews, read or looked into the whole of the British poets, ransacked the entire range of Scottish and English history, and read approved works in theology and ethics.

In 1842, while attending a sale of books which had belonged to the late Miss Hadow of St Andrews, daughter of a professor in St Mary's College, I purchased a MS. volume, containing poems by Sir Robert Aytoun, an associate of the poets Alexander of Menstry and Drummond of Hawthornden. Aytoun, who was secretary to the queens of James VI. and Charles I., was son of the proprietor of Kinaldie, an estate in my native parish; and familiar with his history, I knew that most of his poems had been lost. Rejoicing in my acquisition, I notified it in the newspapers, and proceeded to inquire how my discovery might be improved. Through Professor Gillespie I consulted with Mr Robert Chambers, who then resided at St Andrews; on my proposing a publication, he discouraged the notion, and recommended that the MS. should be entrusted to a book-club. Ardent and inexperienced, I resolved that a discovery which I had personally made should be presented to the world under no other auspices than my own. Issuing a prospectus, I procured one hundred subscribers, and commenced my editorial labours. I resolved that the newly-discovered poems should be accompanied with a life of the author, and a genealogical account of his family, derived from origi-

nal sources. With this view I sought access to family charters, and parochial and other records, which in every instance was granted me. After some fifteen months, my materials being arranged, I thought of employing a printer, and by my early friend, Mr Robert Auld, afterwards minister of Moneydie, Perthshire, I was introduced to Dr Thomas Murray, of the firm of Murray & Gibb, printers, Edinburgh. My acquaintance with this kindly man and excellent scholar gave the first practical turn to my literary industry.

Thomas Murray, LL.D., was born of parents in humble life, at Girthon parish, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright. Having studied at the University of Edinburgh and obtained licence as a preacher, he sometime exercised his calling, but afterwards devoted himself to literary pursuits. He was employed on the staff of Brewster's "Edinburgh Encyclopedia," and subsequently lectured on political economy. About his fiftieth year he purchased a printing business at Edinburgh, and obtaining a partner, became successful, and realised a moderate fortune. He died on the 15th April 1872, at the age of eighty.

Dr Murray was one of the founders of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution ; acted for thirty years as secretary of the Edinburgh School of Arts, and for six years held a seat in the town council. He composed the "Literary History of Galloway," a life of Samuel Rutherford, and the "Rural Annals of Colinton." But he was chiefly known as the associate of men

of letters, and the patron of young and unbefriended authors. I can never forget his kindness towards myself, during an intimacy which continued unbroken for nearly thirty years.

My first letter from Dr Murray is dated the 14th September 1843. Pleased with my literary ardour, he greatly encouraged my aspirations, offered to print my proposed volume on the lowest terms, and secured as publishers the well-known firm of Messrs Adam and Charles Black. The book, a well-printed demy octavo, appeared in January 1844, and was received by the press with a degree of favour much exceeding my expectations. In relation to the work, I may record a little incident: As by confining me for years to the rudiments, my father had retarded my progress in the classics, so he usually re-wrote any composition I entrusted to his supervision. To avoid giving him offence by rejecting his probable emendations, I edited, printed, and published the volume of Aytoun's poems, without so much as informing him of any step in the progress. When I received copies at St Andrews, I sent him a volume "with the editor's compliments." On receiving it, as my aunt afterwards informed me, he was overcome with surprise and vexation. I had, he said, ruined my prospects by rushing into print, while the cost of the publication would certainly prove disastrous to himself. Next day I restored his equanimity by giving him the assurance that the proceeds of the subscription would

satisfy the printer's bill, and by pointing to some favourable notices.

I dedicated the work to Dr David Irving, author of the "Lives of the Scottish Poets," out of respect to his literary labours, but without any special prospect of ever forming his acquaintance; but I was introduced to him in the summer of 1844, when, for the first time, I visited Edinburgh. I also at this time was made known to Mr David Laing of the Signet Library, and other literary notables.

My father's straitened circumstances led me to desire early admission to the pastoral office. Theological students were usually not licensed to preach before completing their fourth year of preparatory studies. But the rule had been relaxed for two years subsequent to the Disruption, and under the belief that I was advancing my professional interests, I prepared a memorial to the General Assembly of 1845, praying that theological students might at least, for another year, be admitted to trials at the close of their third session. This memorial, subscribed by my class-fellows, was presented to the General Assembly by Professor Buist. I had previously secured the support of Professor Hill of Glasgow, who undertook to interest his brethren in our claims. To excite a favourable opinion generally, I advocated the proposal in those journals which were usually read by the clergy. I was rejoiced to learn, by a letter from Professor Buist, dated 30th May 1845, that the Assembly had

unanimously acceded to our request. At the close of the following college session, I was presented by my class-fellows with Kitto's Pictorial Bible, in acknowledgment of my services.

Heretofore my studies had been unprofessional and wayward. During the summer vacation of 1845, I worked vigorously in preparing essays on prescribed subjects; and at the close of my university career, I had the satisfaction of remarking my name entered six times in the prize list; I had once before been joint-winner of a prize, open to general competition.

CHAPTER III.

PROFESSIONAL STRUGGLES.

“Fortiter malum qui patitur, idem post patitur bonum.”

—*Plautus.*

IN June 1846 I was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of St Andrews, and was immediately engaged as temporary assistant by the Rev. Dr Hew Scott, minister of Anstruther Wester, to enable him to proceed to the Shetland Isles, there to conduct researches for his proposed work on the succession of ministers. As salary for ten weeks' service I received the sum of £4, 10s. ; but I have pleasure in reflecting that, in order to his completing a great undertaking, I was enabled for a time to relieve from parochial duty a most industrious historical inquirer. Dr Scott's work—the result of fifty years' research and labour—was published in 1870, under the title of “*Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* ;” it occupies three large quarto volumes, and, in respect of copious and accurate information on the subject of which it treats, is unrivalled in the history of literature. Dr Scott was often a guest at my father's table, and, as the friend of my youth, I have pleasure in referring to his energy and devotedness. Like most persons of

his peculiar tastes, he had his eccentricities and foibles ; he indulged a warm temper, was careless in his apparel, and a little too careful of his coin, but he was withal a kindly and obliging man and a faithful minister. He died in 1871 at an advanced age.

When I commenced my labours as a probationer I bestowed less time in composing discourses than in committing them to memory. A discourse of forty minutes I might compose in three days, but I could not fully commit it in less than six ; in consequence my stock of sermons was very limited, till I changed my system. My next method was this : I wrote out my discourse fully, then mastered its details, providing myself with an abridgment, which I used in the pulpit. At other times I inscribed my discourse fully, in a large hand, so that I could always conveniently refer to it. Latterly, I preached from notes only, and without preparing the exact words of my discourse. A pulpit discourse, to be in any degree effective, must be spoken or addressed to the audience naturally and spontaneously. My success as a preacher was marred by an imperfect utterance ; when I spoke loudly my words were lost, and when I attempted a milder tone I was indistinctly heard. I subsequently adopted a conversational manner.

After several months' preaching in different parishes, I was, in the spring of 1847, appointed ministerial assistant at Kinglassie, in the west of Fife. I resided in the manse, and, possessing the

friendship of the amiable incumbent and his excellent wife, enjoyed much comfort. I remained at Kinglassie six months, till the death of my constituent, and as the parishioners had set their affections on a clergyman who had formerly assisted, and who was appointed to the living, I returned to my native home. My father's health had been rapidly failing, and, in April 1848, he was prostrated by paralysis. In the absence of any other appointment, it was my duty to assist him, and I accordingly undertook the care of the parish. Under ordinary circumstances I would not have adopted this course, for, apart from the consideration that a prophet has less honour in his own country than among strangers, I was wasting the family resources, without any certain prospect of deriving subsequent benefit. To the people my services were acceptable, and a memorial, recommending my appointment as assistant and successor to my father, was transmitted to the patrons—the United College of St Andrews. The college resolved not to appoint to the charge till the occurrence of a vacancy, a resolution not to be wholly discommended, but which might ultimately have been attended with much inconvenience to myself. I accordingly withdrew from rendering personal service at Dunino, but surrendered a portion of the living, limited as it was, to recompense the services of another. The parishioners and adherents of the church waited upon me by a deputation, and pre-

sented me with a gold watch, as a kindly acknowledgment.

I was offered the post of ministerial assistant at Abbotshall, a parish adjoining Kirkcaldy, in western Fifeshire. Familiar with this district, I resumed some former friendships. From Mr George Anderson of Luscar, then residing at Kirkcaldy, and his excellent family, I experienced, as I had done previously, much kind hospitality. Possessing great intellectual power, and a vast fund of information, Mr Anderson was a keen politician, a promoter of education, and an active local magistrate. He had been a purser in the navy, and had conducted business at Liverpool, Havre de Grace, and New Orleans; and as he detailed his experiences very copiously, he proved an instructive and interesting associate. He died in 1863 at an advanced age. His eldest son, who bears the same Christian name, has since 1868 been one of the Parliamentary representatives of Glasgow.

At Kirkcaldy I formed other friendships. Mr Andrew Currie of Glassmount exercised a generous hospitality. I was frequently his guest, and received from him and his family much genuine kindness. At Mr Currie's table I met several ingenious persons, who entertained me with curious and interesting reminiscences. Dr Adam Smith, author of "The Wealth of Nations," was a native of Kirkcaldy, and in the place composed his great work. While

engaged in composition he frequently fell into a condition of reverie, so as to be entirely unconscious of his relations with the external world. Early on a Sunday morning he walked into his garden, his mind occupied with a train of ideas; he unconsciously travelled into the turnpike road, along which he proceeded in a state of abstraction, till he reached Dunfermline, at a distance of fifteen miles. The people were going to church, and the sound of the bells awakened the philosopher from his dream. Arrayed in an old dressing-gown, he was regarded as an oddity.

Of the ingenious and eccentric Mr Robert Shirra, minister of the Secession Church, Kirkcaldy, at the beginning of the century, an interesting anecdote was reported to me. When the French Directory were exciting the humbler classes to revolt, Mr Shirra was waited upon by several of his hearers—hand-loom weavers—to ascertain his sentiments about liberty and equality. The subject, he said, required consideration, and when he had reflected upon it, he would express his opinion from the pulpit. Next Sunday, at the close of his morning discourse, he spoke thus :

“ A few days ago I had a visit from some of your number, who desired my sentiments respecting liberty and equality. Of any lack of liberty, no industrious Briton may complain. As to equality, I have in quest of it travelled, in spirit, over the universe; I have searched the surface of the earth, its frozen and burning zones, its mountains and valleys, its isles and conti-

nents, its fertile lands and sandy deserts, and I have found men and children, large and small, strong and weak, wise and ignorant, good and bad, rich and poor—no equality there. I have explored the sea, its depths and shoals, rocks and sandbanks, whirlpools and eddies, and I have found monsters and worms, whales and small fishes, sharks and shrimps, mackerel and sprats, the strong devouring the weak, and the big swallowing the little—no equality there. I have ascended to heaven, with its greater and lesser lights, suns and satellites, and I have found thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim—no equality there. I have descended into hell, and there I have found Beelzebub, the prince of devils, and his grim counsellors, Moloch and Belial, tyrannising over the other devils, and all of them over wicked men's souls—no equality there. This is what I have seen in my travels; but if any of you are not satisfied with what I have told you, and wish to go in search of equality yourselves, you may find it where I have not visited. But I tell you positively you will find what you want neither on the earth, nor in the sea; neither in heaven, nor in hell."

The Rev. Thomas Fleming, D.D., formerly minister of Kenmore, Perthshire, and afterwards of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh, was parish minister of Kirkealdy from 1788 to 1806. His brother, Mr James Fleming, engaged in legal pursuits, and was sometime employed in the office of Mr William Keith of Ravelstone, Writer to the Signet. He married a daughter of Mr James Rae of Coldsheaf, dental surgeon in Edinburgh, whose other daughter was Mr Keith's wife. The eldest child of the marriage, Marjory Fleming, has been celebrated for her marvellous precocity.* When she was in her sixth year,

* Marjorie Fleming: a Sketch. By John Brown, M.D., Edin. 1864, 12mo.

residing at Ravelstone under the care of her aunt, she attracted the notice of Sir Walter Scott, who made himself a child to join in her amusements. She died in her eighth year, on the 19th December 1811; and her remains were interred in Abbotshall churchyard. After practising as an accountant in Edinburgh, her father settled at Kirkcaldy.

My appointment at Abbotshall depended on the health of the incumbent. Early in summer he resumed duty, and I was relieved from my engagement. For several years I had occupied a portion of time in preparing a history of St Andrews; I now issued the work in a handsome volume, accompanied with illustrations. It was dedicated to my relative, Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair, provost of the city, who had supplied me with important materials. The edition embraced one thousand copies, and sold rapidly. I devoted a portion of the proceeds in extending my territorial knowledge. Besides John Knox, whom I had partly celebrated in my history, my other heroes were Wallace and Bruce, Scott and Burns. Visiting Stirling, I surveyed from its castle rock the field of Corntown, where Wallace, in 1297, drove back an invading army, and rescued his country from oppression. I passed to Falkirk and Bannockburn, the former associated with Wallace's defeat, the latter with Bruce's immortal victory. Near the banks of the Doon, I visited Burns's birth-place, his elegant monument, Alloway Kirk, and

other scenes associated with the poet's genius. At Dumfries, under the guidance of the poet, Thomas Aird, I inspected Burns's latest dwelling, and the mausoleum which covers his remains. I passed into Roxburghshire ; visited Abbotsford, and saw Melrose Abbey "by moonlight." By the grave of Sir Walter Scott I meditated among the ruins of Dryburgh.

I was offered the pastorate of the North Church, Dunfermline, an appointment not very eligible, but which, under the circumstances, I accepted thankfully. As a place of residence, Dunfermline presented considerable attractions to one of my peculiar tastes ; I thought of the opening lines in the ballad of Sir Patrick Spens :

" The king sits in Dunfermline toun
Drinking the blude-red wine."

In Dunfermline Palace Charles I. was born ; and in its old tower Malcolm Canmore held court with Margaret, his sainted queen. The Church of the Holy Trinity, founded by Malcolm's princely munificence, had superseded Iona as a place of royal sepulture. There the founder was interred ; while at the high altar pilgrims had found consolation by kneeling at Queen Margaret's tomb. The Abbey Church covered the remains of King Edgar, Alexander I., the pious David I., Malcolm, surnamed the Maiden, Alexander III., and Margaret, his queen, and of Annabella Drummond, queen of Robert III., and mother of James I. In the same ancient church, near the high altar, were

deposited the remains of King Robert the Bruce, the most illustrious of Scottish sovereigns.

With Dunfermline were associated memories of Sir William Wallace. According to Henry the Minstrel, the patriot made a pilgrimage to St Margaret's shrine, subsequent to the slaughter of Selby. In Dunfermline forest he sought refuge from his enemies in 1303; and in Pittencrieff glen, which adjoins the town, a spring well is associated with his name. His mother, who died at Dunfermline, was interred by him in the Abbey churchyard, where an aged thorn, partially destroyed, marks her grave. Arnold Blair, a member of Dunfermline monastery, was Wallace's chaplain, and author of some memorials of his career.*

North Church, Dunfermline, to which I was appointed in July 1849, had lately been secured to the Establishment from the Free Church, by a decision of the House of Lords. In quitting the fabric, the Free Church congregation left nearly empty pews, about forty persons only worshipping in a building which contained eight hundred sittings; but I was able to report before the close of six months that the communion roll contained eighty names, and that the congregation had increased to about three hundred. My duties, which were chiefly missionary, were some-

* "*Relationes quædam Arnaldi Blair, monachi de Dunfermling, et capellani, D. Willielmi Wallas, militis, A.D. 1327;*" and "*Diarium Arnaldi de Blair, capellani Willielmi Valleii militis (gubernatoris Regni Scotiæ) monachi de Dunfermling 1327.*"

what arduous; I proceeded from house to house, and had some startling and unpleasant experiences. The majority of my parishioners were hand-loom weavers; they were keen politicians, and I had some difficulty in appropriately introducing religious conversation. Sixty families admitted that they did not belong to any religious denomination; a few infidels whom I encountered could not sustain their views by the feeblest argument. With the workers in the neighbouring collieries the weavers would hold no intercourse; they would not join them at district prayer-meetings, or acknowledge them as neighbours.

The scenes of poverty and ignorance which I witnessed at Dunfermline, awoke me to serious reflection. On the 24th September 1849, I commenced a diary, which I have since kept, with some intervals. The first entry contains these words :

“ Looking back on my past life, I have little to commend, and very much to regret. Much time I have spent foolishly and, therefore, idly; I have cherished futile schemes and indulged useless speculations. In connection with my college course, I can only think of neglected studies, and wasted energies. Since I became a preacher, I have lacked ministerial zeal. The disappointments I have sustained will, I trust, be sanctified to me; I desire to be more faithful.”

In October I experienced an attack of Asiatic cholera, then severely epidemic in the North Church district; I soon recovered, and I was not insensible of sparing mercy. I was frequently called on to visit my aged father, whose infirmities were increas-

ing. At his paralytic attack in April 1848, he lost the power of speech ; latterly, he became blind. But to the last he retained his mental faculties. He died most peacefully on the 23d November 1849, and his remains were interred in Dunino churchyard, in a grave adjacent to that which contains my mother's dust.

My father had reached his eighty-third year. Notices of his career, with favourable estimates of his character, appeared in the provincial and other newspapers. Mr James Bruce, a learned journalist, to whom my father was well known, thus concluded a memoir of his life :

“ A man of the fine intellect, the information, and the power of communicating information, possessed by Mr Roger, and arrived at the age of fourscore, after a life not spent at the desk or in the library—though the studies of the desk and the library were familiar to him—but among men and in active business, was truly a valuable link between the present age and a past world ; and those who have enjoyed Mr Roger's company will, through life, often feel themselves the richer of the stores of knowledge, which it was certainly their own blame if they did not gather amidst those happy conversations which made the hours vanish like minutes.”

In the *Scotsman* newspaper, Mr Alexander Russel, the accomplished editor, after quoting the preceding paragraph, added these words :

“ To every word of this, all those who enjoyed Mr Roger's society—and they were not few—will heartily subscribe ; and having thus called up before their mind's eye the old man of strange gifts and strange ways, in whose mirth and wisdom they

were privileged to partake, will be inclined to exclaim sorrowfully—

“ ‘ We shall not look upon his like again.’ ”

My own sentiments, on the occasion of my father's death, are thus expressed in my diary :

“ I have lost a true and loving friend. . . . Had my father died when I was at college, I could not have complained, for he was then beyond the appointed threescore years and ten. Had he been removed earlier—had he died in March 1836, when he was thrown from his horse and severely injured—how could I have been educated ? Even if he had died prior to July last, I should have had no home in which to receive my aged aunt, and no means of supporting her.”

My father, as formerly stated, was deficient as a financier. Before his death I undertook to discharge his liabilities, towards which I surrendered my mother's portion, an allowance of £200 to which I was entitled from a church fund, and the half-year's stipend allowed to the heirs of deceased clergymen. There remained a balance of £300, which, if I had early obtained a living, would have proved no incubus, but which, under existing circumstances, encumbered me for years.

Though my position at Dunfermline was, from the nature of my ministerial duties, as well as my restricted resources, not very comfortable, I possessed counterbalancing advantages. From the outset I enjoyed access to the best society of the place. Among my acquaintances was an ingenious local antiquary, Mr Joseph Neill Paton, and in his elegant villa I was

privileged to examine interesting articles of *vertu* which had belonged to the palaces of Holyrood, Falkland, Linlithgow, and Dunfermline, and to Lochleven Castle and the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. Through Mr Paton and his distinguished son, now Sir Joseph Noël Paton, I was recommended to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and elected a fellow.

But my salary of £70 a year, without any prospect of augmentation, necessitated my looking elsewhere, and at midsummer 1850 I accepted the assistantship at Ballingry, a small parish in the district of Kinross. Of this parish the incumbent was in his eighty-fourth year; and he was willing that I should be appointed his successor. At Ballingry I resided at Chapel of Lochore, in a farm-house built on the prætorium of an ancient camp. Here, it is believed, the Roman general, Agricola, encamped in A.D. 83, not long before his march into Strathearn and his conflict with Galgacus at the battle of the Grampians.*

At Ballingry the parish school had for forty years been practically closed. The schoolmaster, who did not lack learning or intelligence, had an impediment

* Sir Robert Sibbald, who published his "History of Fifeshire" in 1710, remarks that the form of Lochore camp could be distinctly traced. It presented, on the west side, three rows of ditches, and as many ramparts of stone and earth, and on the east side a round turret, the circumference measuring 2020 feet. The camp rested on the border of Lochore loch, which was surrounded by a dense forest. During the time of Sir Robert Sibbald and subsequently, Roman spear-heads and other remains were found in the locality; and early in the present century a marble chess-table was dug up from the lake, and after passing through various hands was presented to myself. It now belongs to Major-General Sir James Edward Alexander of Westerton, Stirlingshire; I gave it to his brother, the late Major John Alexander Henderson.

in his speech, and failed to make himself understood; but though many advantageous offers had been made to him both by the presbytery and the parochial landowners, he would not relinquish his supposed rights; he opened his school daily, and waited for pupils who never came. The case had been noticed in the House of Commons, being adduced as a reason why the superintendence of education should no longer be entrusted to the Established Church; but the teacher continued firm and immovable as before. I entertained him hospitably and gained his confidence. Undertaking that his emoluments would not be interfered with, I prevailed on him to subscribe a document, consenting to accept the services of an assistant. Procuring from the heritors or parish landowners a small salary for an assistant, I had the satisfaction of reopening the school under an efficient instructor. I was also successful in establishing a parochial library.

At Ballingry I enjoyed the pleasant intercourse of the resident gentry. The place suited my tastes, and the succession to my friend the incumbent became the acme of my clerical ambition. Though considerably remote from centres of activity, the parish was situated in a locality not devoid of historical and literary interest. Queen Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven, situated in the immediate vicinity. At Blairadam, on the western border, the Lord Chief-Commissioner Adam had entertained Sir Walter

Scott and other literary notables. There had Cornet Scott met his future wife, "the pretty heiress of Lochore." With the place were associated legends of romance. A portion of Lochore estate was covered with boulders of trap rock, and it was told that the devil had dropped them from his apron in stepping across the country to construct a bridge over the Forth. There were curious anecdotes connected with the Malcolms, Baronets of Lochore. One of the earlier baronets, Sir John, who flourished at the close of the seventeenth century, fond of magnifying what he had encountered in his travels, led a satirical poet to celebrate him in these quaint lines :

"Ken ye ought o' Sir John Macolm?
Igo and ago;
If he's a wise man I mistak' him,
Iram, coram, dago.

"To hear him o' his travels talk,
Igo and ago;
To go to London's but a walk,
Iram, coram, dago.

"To see the leviathan skip,
Igo and ago;
And wi' his tail ding owre a ship,
Iram, coram, dago."

My constituent, Mr Greig, parish minister of Balingry, died on the 11th May 1851. I had served the cure about a year, and the parishioners were pleased to make application to the patron that I might be appointed to the living. But the patroness, Lady Scott of Lochore, had made other arrangements; I attended the induction of the presentee,

and introduced him to the leading parishioners. Before leaving Dunfermline I had been invited to prepare a work in connection with Airthrey Spa, and, relieved of ministerial duty, I undertook the task. Resolving that the work should embrace a series of tours, from Bridge of Allan as a centre, I visited every spot of interest from Lochleven to Lochlomond, and from the heights of Torwood to the crags of Drummond Castle. The work appeared in the autumn of 1851, with the title, "A Week at Bridge of Allan." The first edition sold at once, and six editions were subsequently called for.

On the recommendation of Professor Hill of Glasgow, I obtained a temporary appointment to a chapel at Carnoustie, a marine resort on the coast of Forfarshire. My engagement at Carnoustie continued one year, and though suffering some of the discomforts which attend missionary labours, I experienced in the neighbourhood a kind and generous hospitality.

During the summer of 1852, I find from daily entries in my diary that I had entered upon a wide and varied course of reading. I was privileged with access to a public library at Dundee, of which my uncle was librarian. I earned at Carnoustie eighty pounds, which, with twenty pounds obtained in connection with my work on Bridge of Allan, enabled me to subsist sixteen months without contracting debt.

I resolved to devote myself wholly to literature.

Establishing my residence at Bridge of Allan in January 1853, I set about preparing a subscription edition of my recent work, and which, being published in May, afforded me the means of temporary support. I next established at Bridge of Allan a monthly print, which contained lists of visitors to the spa, and information useful to strangers. This publication was largely countenanced; and though it yielded no substantial profit, it extended my acquaintanceship.

In June I was invited to prepare a work descriptive of Strathearn, and I at once entered upon the undertaking. From Crieff, as a centre, I made journeys to the Roman camp at Ardoch, Comrie, St Fillans, and Loch Earn; to the romantic scenery of Loch Turrit, and to Corrymuchloch, and Amulree. My little book appeared under the title of "The Beauties of Upper Strathearn;" it yielded me a profit of £15.

Early in October, being requested by a publisher to prepare a work descriptive of Deeside, I proceeded thither, and witnessed the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new castle at Balmoral. But, finding that a guide-book to the district might interfere with the seclusion of Her Majesty's autumnal residence, I declined to carry the project further. From Balmoral I proceeded to the Castleton of Braemar, and afterwards ascended the majestic and far-famed mountain of Lochnagar. In December I

received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Columbia College, New York.

In May 1854 I opened a preaching station at Bridge of Allan, conducting service gratuitously. In the autumn I made a tour to the Irish lakes, afterwards describing my journeyings in a small publication. On the 14th December I married Isabella, eldest daughter of the late Mr John Bain of St Andrews, a gentleman esteemed for his Christian worth.

In January 1855 I was appointed chaplain to the garrison of Stirling Castle, with a free house, a salary of £74, and some other allowances. The appointment was welcome after a novitiate of nine years, during which I had earned by preaching £266, 16s. 6d. I was ordained chaplain on the 26th April; and on the occasion was presented with a pulpit gown. On leaving Bridge of Allan I was entertained at a public breakfast by the inhabitants, and presented with a silver claret jug and a purse of sovereigns.

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF STIRLING.

“ Wolf of the North ! the trumpet tongue of fame
With many a glorious deed connects thy name,
Before the Roman, earth’s triumphant foe,
Reared his proud eagle on thy rocky brow.

“ Snowdown, while kings yet filled the Bruce’s throne,
Who ruled and dwelt in Scotia’s plains alone,
Then oft wert thou the monarch’s favourite seat ;
Here did the brave, the fair, and noble meet,
And joust and tourney and high festival
Were held on thy smooth green or bannered wall.”

—*David Henry Lee.*

IN April 1855 I removed from Bridge of Allan to the town of Stirling, to enter on my duties as chaplain to the garrison. This place of residence was especially suited to my tastes and habits ; it was intimately associated with the early, and with the regal and political history of the kingdom. Built on a sloping crag, overlooking the only spot where the narrow isthmus between the Forth and Clyde could be crossed, Stirling was regarded as a key to the Highlands. On Stirling rock the Romans occupied a military station, by which they maintained communication with their works at Camelon on the south and the camp at Ardoch on the north.* An

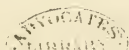
* Until a recent period, a stone lay near the entrance of Stirling Castle inscribed, “IN. EXCV. AGIT. LEG. II.,” signifying, *In exœubias agitantes legionis secundæ*, or “For the daily and nightly watch of the second legion.”

occasional retreat of native princes, from the reign of Kenneth III. in the tenth century, Stirling afterwards became a favourite resort of royalty. Within the castle Alexander I. died in 1124, and William the Lion in 1214; in the same fortress Alexander II., early in the thirteenth century, established trial by jury. During the war of independence which followed the death of Alexander III., Stirling Castle was alternately held by the Scots and English; it was surrendered to Edward I. in April 1304, and in June 1314 acquired by King Robert the Bruce, after he had triumphed at Bannockburn. There James I. crushed the conspirators against his government, and James II. slew the haughty Earl of Douglas. There James III. lived in impolitic seclusion, and his son James IV. practised the joust and tournament. James V. was there crowned, and performed in the vicinity some of those kindly acts which have caused him to be remembered as "King of the Commons." Queen Mary, crowned in Stirling Castle, there spent some of her happiest days. In the castle James VI. was baptized, and taught by Buchanan. There, too, was baptized, with costly pageantry, his eldest son, the short-lived Prince Henry. Stirling was the Windsor of Scotland, the headquarters of the court. All that was royal and noble in the kingdom was associated with the rock. The traders of Stirling were privileged to practise tilting at the ring—a royal sport. The environs of

the place were adorned with the choicest art of the horticulturist.

Till the middle of the sixteenth century Stirling was surrounded by a fortified wall of vast strength, extending from the castle to the river Forth. An imposing archway in the southern wall formed the principal entrance; its silver keys have been preserved. Within the walls, and near the summit of the rock, a spacious thoroughfare, now termed Broad Street, exhibited the residences of the nobles. From the union of the crowns, deserted by the nobility, Stirling gradually lapsed into decay. In the seventeenth century it contained three thousand persons, chiefly employed in manufacturing wool. As the surrounding district was wet and swampy, the inhabitants were often decimated by epidemics.

In 1855 Stirling presented the aspects, both physical and moral, which it had held for centuries. Shoplifting was not uncommon; the town council maintaining what they deemed a meritorious economy by dispensing with a salaried constabulary. On a Saturday evening, a few weeks after settling in the place, I was waited on by an official of the burgh, who informed me that it was my turn "to watch" that night. On requesting information, he showed me that householders took their turn of guarding the burgh by night; and that, for better security, two persons watched together. Having explained that I had to conduct church service next morning, I



was relieved by the assurance that a payment of two shillings would recompense a substitute. These substitutes were drunken idlers who were not unwilling to roam about at night when their neighbours were in bed. Under such guardianship, the place was, in its principal thoroughfares, especially in the vicinity of the castle, the resort of depraved and licentious persons, who trafficked on the public credulity. A body of gamesters, from their headquarters on the walk surrounding the castle rock, despatched their deputies to the neighbouring towns. To the discomfort caused by those worthless persons I early invited attention ; and having interested the municipal authorities, accomplished their removal.

In the vicinity of the castle, and surrounding the structure of the High Church, was situated the parochial burying-ground, the most crowded place of sepulture in Scotland. It had not been enlarged since the Reformation, while the population of the parish had latterly increased from three to fourteen thousand. And there was no necessity why the original bounds should be preserved, for adjoining was a large space variously used as a market-garden, a horse-market, a piggery, and a place of cleansing rags for the paper trade. Finding that two-thirds of this space belonged to the Earl of Mar, I arranged with the lessee, and offered his lordship £20 per annum—being the former rent quadrupled—to secure the ground as a cemetery. Mr John Macfarlane of

Coneyhill, a patriotic gentleman of the neighbourhood, agreed to become security, and subscribe the lease. Having made sure of the ground, I proceeded to establish a cemetery company—a solicitor in the place conducting the arrangements. At the first meeting of the company, the provost of the burgh attended, and, on behalf of the corporation, undertook to effect the object for which we had assembled. On this assurance the company adjourned *sine die*, allowing the town council to continue the correspondence with Lord Mar's agent; but within two months the council resolved to abandon the project, as a bill for preventing intermural interments was likely, before the close of the Parliamentary session, to become law.

The Interment Act did not prevent the enlargement of any existing burial-ground, provided the owners and occupants within one hundred yards of the place signified their consent. Waiting upon all who owned or occupied dwellings within one hundred yards of the churchyard, I succeeded in obtaining, for the proposed improvement, the written consent of each. Having handed the document to the magistrates, they were persuaded to renew negotiations.

An objector arose in the person of Mr John Dick, an aged burgess.* In the local newspapers Mr Dick

* I am unwilling to allude to a local controversy, old and forgotten. But the reader will find in the sequel that, in order to the illustration of my personal narrative, the allusion is unavoidable. Mr Dick died in February 1865. Having acquired his position in the burgh by industrious weaving, he considerably lacked education, and was prone to adopt the counsels of those who flattered and celebrated him.

published a long letter, describing a contingency contemplated only in his own fancy, "the expulsion of the public from the Valley and Ladies' Rock." The Valley belonged to the burgh, but Mr Dick claimed it for Lord Mar, and deplored that his lordship's gift should be "enclosed as a tennis-court," or "frittered down into a bowling-green." To the "disinterested," whether "near or at a distance," he appealed, in the interests of "the agricultural population, whose horses must remain unsold if the Valley was surrounded by a wall." The town council, he maintained, *dared* not enclose it; by doing so, "they would contravene the twelfth chapter of the positive prescriptive statute of 1617;" would usurp powers belonging to the heritors; and would follow a course "despotic and arbitrary." "These ill-timed innovations would," he added, "expose hallowed ground, consecrated by the tears of bereavement, and the recollections of bygone years, and convert the scene of a time-honoured horse-market into the appearance of a tea-garden on the Thames," violate "the rules of taste," and thoroughly upset all "antiquarian principles." Mr Dick exhorted his fellow-townsmen "to protect their rights by interdiction."

Those who read Mr Dick's letter were content to smile, and the improvement was proceeded with. From the Valley and the Ladies' Rock, the town council had not proposed, as Mr Dick asserted, to exclude the respectable inhabitants. The Ladies'



THE CEMETERY, STIRLING.

Rock was the resort of dissolute persons, and the Valley had been yearly squatted upon by gipsies or tinkers, and such individuals only were to be prohibited from longer occupying a locality, to the use of which, notwithstanding Mr Dick's statement, they had no real or prescriptive right.

From plans prepared by Messrs Peddie & Kinnear, architects, Edinburgh, the cemetery was commenced early in 1857, and completed in November of the same year.* When it was about to be opened, I suggested, in the local newspapers, that the ground might be appropriately adorned with monumental statues of eminent persons associated with the burgh. Among these I named James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, the Presbyterian martyr. My suggestion attracted the notice of Mr William Drummond of Rockdale, a prosperous burgess, who handed me £5 for a monument to Guthrie; I at once raised the subscription to £20, and, hoping to obtain a larger amount, employed a sculptor. From a portrait of the martyr, in possession of the guildry, Mr Handyside Ritchie prepared an excellent model, and in the course of a few months, the monument was con-

* The workmen were efficiently superintended by Mr William Rankin, a retired merchant, and afterwards chief magistrate. This ingenious gentleman devised and superintended the execution of many useful improvements in the burgh. I had the satisfaction, in 1858, of collecting £230 for a testimonial to him, which was presented in money and silver-plate. He was presented with his portrait, executed by Sir George Harvey, in January 1873. Mr Rankin died on the 7th January 1875, aged eighty-five. He was awarded a public funeral, and a monument has been erected to his memory in that place of tombs which he energetically laboured to adorn.

structed. Among those who subscribed were the Duke of Argyll and the Rev. Dr Guthrie of Edinburgh, while Mr William Drummond purchased an appropriate site in the cemetery enclosure, near the principal entrance.

By the act of inaugurating the Guthrie monument, the cemetery was opened on the 26th November 1857. At the ceremony an address was delivered by Mr James Dodds of London, whose oratorical abilities, conjoined with his remarkable sympathy for the cause in which the martyr suffered, led me to secure his assistance on the occasion.* Mr Dodds' address—an eloquent exposition of the principles for which Guthrie suffered in relation to the consolidation of civil and religious liberty—was printed and circulated; and at a public breakfast, to which he was invited a few days afterwards, another monument was suggested.

James Guthrie belonged to an ancient Scottish house, and was remarkable alike for his theological attainments and great firmness of character. In upholding the independence of the Scottish Church, he proved obnoxious to the Earl of Middleton. Through the hostile influences of that personage, he was arraigned before the Estates, and condemned to suffer for high treason; he was executed at Edinburgh on

* In the previous spring I had the pleasure of inviting Mr Dodds to deliver, at Stirling, a course of four lectures on the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century, which have since been embodied in his valuable work, "The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters."

the 1st June 1661. As in a monument to his memory was indicated a protest against kingly tyranny, it was held that next should be commemorated Ebenezer Erskine, also minister of Stirling, who, in inaugurating the Secession Church, upheld popular liberty against aristocratical oppression.

The proposal to commemorate Erskine was scarcely named, when two distinct movements were set on foot. The adherents of the Secession Church proposed to confine the subscription solely to members of their own denomination, while others held that the privilege of commemorating a patriot should be extended equally to all. The result was not to be deplored, for while a handsome statue of Erskine was placed in the cemetery, an elegant monument in the form of a Greek temple was erected at his grave within the enclosure of the church at Stirling, which bears his name.

Two local celebrities having been commemorated, Mr William Drummond resolved, at his private cost, to celebrate others. For the centre of the Valley he commissioned statues of the Reformers, John Knox, Andrew Melville, and Alexander Henderson. In the East Church of Stirling, Knox preached on the 23d July 1567, when James VI., an infant of thirteen months, was crowned by the nobility. Andrew Melville was Principal of the University of Glasgow, and afterwards of St Mary's College, St Andrews. Having spoken rashly in an

interview with James VI. in 1595, he incurred the royal displeasure, and being decoyed to London in 1606, was committed to the Tower, where he was detained four years. He died at Sedan in 1622. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, and afterwards of Edinburgh, prepared the National Covenant, subscribed at Edinburgh in February 1638, and was moderator of the celebrated General Assembly held at Glasgow the same year. In 1643 he represented the Scottish Church at the Assembly of Divines held at Westminster; he died in 1646.

In 1858 Mr William Drummond erected in the cemetery a monumental statue of James Renwick, the last of the Scottish martyrs. An itinerant preacher in the southern counties, he in 1685 publicly protested against the accession of James VII., and was consequently declared a rebel. Captured in January 1688, he was executed in the following February; he was only twenty-six. Renwick's statue presents the likeness of a descendant of his family.

On the Ladies' Rock, and within the cemetery enclosure, Mr Drummond erected in 1859 a group of marble statuary, surmounted by a cupola, in honour of Margaret Wilson, one of the two Wigtown martyrs. This devoted person suffered death by drowning during the persecution of James VII.; she died in May 1685 in her eighteenth year. The martyr is repre-

sented in the act of reading the Scriptures on the hill-side, with her younger sister Agnes ; a lamb rests gently at their feet, and their guardian angel hovers near.

Distressed that any doubt should be thrown on the actual occurrence of the martyrdom, as has been done by Mr Mark Napier in his "Life of Viscount Dundee," but which doubt has been entirely refuted,* Mr William Drummond not only reared the monumental group on the Ladies' Rock, but endowed with a liberal annuity Margaret Wilson, a young person descended from the martyr's family.

When the new cemetery, including the Valley and Ladies' Rock, was fully laid out, I had the grounds provided with convenient iron seats for the accommodation of the traveller. By public subscription I constructed a drinking-fountain in the centre of the Valley, which Mr William Drummond afterwards adorned.

Four portions of ground adjoining the cemetery enclosure were still wanted to complete the improvement. One which adjoined the castle esplanade, resting on its southern front, was used as a kitchen garden by the barrack-master of the garrison. Having induced that official to surrender it, I communicated with General Peel, Secretary of the War Department, begging that it might be granted for

* See "Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland," printed for the Grampian Club, 1871, vol. i., pp. 349-357.

ornamental purposes. Supported by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, my application succeeded. A second portion of ground adjoining the esplanade I purchased for £120; I was relieved of the purchase-money by Mr William Drummond, who on the spot erected a pyramid in honour of the Reformation. For some dilapidated tenements fronting the cemetery on the north-east, I offered £800, but failed to secure them; they have since been purchased, and the site added to the cemetery enclosure.

An ancient bowling-green belonging to the guildry, adjoining the structure of Cowane's Hospital, and fronting the High Church, was, by removing the ponderous wall by which it was surrounded, added to the grounds. Large masses of rude masonry attached to the buttresses of the High Church were removed secretly. By promoting a subscription sale, I restored the church transept to its original proportions.

Having, in 1858, purchased an elegant statue of Sir William Wallace, by Handyside Ritchie, I got it erected on a porch fronting the Athenæum building in King Street; I raised £100; a similar amount was contributed by Mr William Drummond. This benevolent and estimable gentleman died at Stirling, on the 25th November 1868; his remains rest in the cemetery of the place, where a plain massive monument denotes his grave. The enclosure of nearly the entire superficies of the Castle Hill suggested further

reform. Extending from the south-western margin of the castle rock to a circumference of nearly three miles, a tract of tableland is known as the King's Park; fringed with oaks, it anciently constituted a deer forest, and latterly a place where the court practised various sports. In allusion to the sports conducted in the King's Park, by the juvenile James V., Sir David Lyndsay, in his "Complaynt of the Papingo," celebrates the locality in these lines :

"Adew, fair Snowdoun,* with thy towris hie,
Thy Chapel Royall, Park, and Tabill Round;
May, June, and July, wald I dwell in thee,
War I ane man to heir the birdis sound
Quilk doith agane thy royall rock redound."

Since the union of the crowns, when Stirling was abandoned as a royal residence, the King's Park had been used for pasture, but some portions were latterly placed under tillage. As a royal demesne it is under the charge of the First Commissioner of Public Works. In the summer of 1858 I brought its neglected condition under the notice of the Surveyor of Public Works for Scotland, who, having approved my suggestions, communicated with Lord John Manners, who then held office as First Commissioner. Soon afterwards I was requested to meet Lord John Manners at Stirling, when I pointed out the desiderated improvements, and obtained a pledge that, on the expiry of the lease a few years afterwards, they would be fully carried out. Consequent on that pro-

* An ancient-name of Stirling, used by the poets.

mise the park was, in 1870, surrounded with a low parapet wall and railing, unseemly excrescences were removed, and the place otherwise adorned. *The Round Table*, used as a place of refreshment after the jousts and tournaments, and which was constructed by James I. in 1424, was also restored. In the centre of the table is a small mound, which is enclosed by an octagonal terrace; by its peculiar form the knights could partake of a refection in co-equal dignity.

Resting between the King's Park and the cemetery, along the steep bank of the castle rock, are the remains of terraced or hanging gardens, connected with the palace. I had made some progress in acquiring these gardens for the burgh at a moderate rent, but when I left Stirling, in 1863, the proposal of securing them was abandoned.

For many years Stirling enjoyed celebrity as a place of education. Thomas Buchanan, nephew of the more celebrated George Buchanan, was master of Stirling school in 1571, and had under his superintendence the sons of the nobility. Dr Thomas Doig, rector of the high school at the close of the last century, had a wide reputation as a classicist; he died in 1800 at an advanced age. The school buildings had become dilapidated, but the first portion of a new academy was erected in 1854. The completion of this structure would tend not only to the adornment of the place, but would largely conduce to the cause

of education. In 1858 I promoted the candidature of Mr John Dick to the office of chief magistrate, in the belief that that liberality which he had hitherto restrained would, in completing the fabric of the academy, find a congenial outlet. I was grievously disappointed, and, in expressing that disappointment, severely suffered.

About the spring of 1859 I devised a *Stirling Improvement Society*; I consulted some persons of taste and opulence in the place and elsewhere, who approved and became members, but the enterprise failed. A movement for the erection of a public hall, which I originated in 1861, also collapsed. In April of that year Mr Ebenezer Morrison, son of a respectable burgess, had been appointed joint-secretary of the committee for rearing a national monument to Wallace. As Mr Morrison was a young legal practitioner, I entrusted to him the hall movement, in the hope that, if he carried out the undertaking, he would thereby obtain some professional emolument to compensate him for rendering gratuitous service in the business of the monument. Mr Morrison permitted the enterprise to slumber.

In November 1861 I was induced to become a candidate for a seat in the town council. My address to the electors proceeded thus :

“STIRLING, *November 1, 1861.*

“GENTLEMEN,—A very large and influential body of electors, representing, I am informed, all shades of civil and ecclesiastical

opinions, have signified to me their wish to return me to the town council. It is unusual for one of my profession to hold a civic office, but, in the circumstances, I cannot venture to decline such a manifestation of confidence and good feeling. If I am deemed eligible, and appointed to the office to which, by the kindness of so many, I have been named, I shall discharge the duties apart from private or political influences, and with an honest desire towards carrying out that course of improvement which is likely to conduce towards the best interests of the place. It is in the hope that my presence in the council may be of some public service that I accede to the wish which has been expressed. Having stated the grounds on which I have been led to allow myself to be brought forward for your suffrages, I need scarcely add that there is no reason why a clergyman should not endeavour to advance physical and sanitary reform in the place in which he happens to reside. Had there been any rule against a clergyman accepting a municipal office, I had certainly not have ventured to disobey it. If, on the other hand, my accepting the post of town councillor should be deemed incompatible with the requirements of my office in the castle, I shall be ready, when called on, to renounce my position at the council board. I contemplate no such contingency. In fine, gentlemen, I have to express a hope that no elector will record a vote on my behalf from feelings of friendship, apart from a belief in my fitness to act as a suitable representative of the constituency. It is by so discharging your duties as electors, in returning members to the Corporation, that the best interests of the burgh will be permanently promoted."

To the town council I was returned by a large majority.

An important Act of Parliament was passed for the better government of Scottish burghs, but its adoption by each burgh was voluntary. I printed an abridgment of the Act for the use of my colleagues in the town council; but I failed to induce two-thirds

of the members to vote for its adoption. I was more successful in improving the condition of the streets, and conducting various sanitary reforms. At the time I left Stirling, in 1863, I contemplated some other improvements; these I may enumerate by quoting a portion of a speech which I delivered at Stirling in August 1873,* when I was presented with a painting of the Abbey Craig. I spoke thus:

“Broad Street should be planted with a double row of poplars; and every ancient lodgment, here and elsewhere, should have inscribed upon it some details of its history. Every unseemly adjunct to buildings of time-honoured interest should be swept away. Old stables and nettle-grown courts should be pronounced nuisances, and removed under the Police Act. The structure of the academy should be finished; otherwise you will not attract strangers, though you may elect the best Education Board, and select the very best teachers. Your streets have been improved, such as Friars’ Street, and the top of Baker and Spittal Streets. But there is much to be accomplished. Your best benefactor, John Cowane, is commemorated by a street which, were it not a wide one, might be pronounced repulsive. Plant this street—plant along each side beeches and chestnuts, and, as the Duke of Buccleuch has accomplished at Thornhill in Dumfriesshire, you will ingraft beauty on ugliness, and substitute rural dignity for absolute dinginess. Your noble Back Walk should be extended to the Old Bridge, and continued down to the river. The furze on the Gowling Hills should be substituted by ornamental plantation.

* Baillie James Miller, one of the magistrates who presided on this occasion, in the course of a well-expressed speech enumerating the improvements in which I had taken part, assigned to me some influence with the fairies who had removed the rubble mason-work which disfigured the buttresses of the High Church. My only share in that business, if any share I had, was in relating to one of the magistrates how my relative, Sir Hugh Playfair, the provost of St Andrews, was aided by fairies or brownies, who did for him at night what might not so conveniently have been accomplished by day.

The Royal Engineers will inform you that laburnums and laurels will harbour the enemy during a siege, but in answer tell them that when our ironclads are smashed and sunk, you conceive that the enemy would, even without shelter, make short work of our stronghold. The south-western heights of the King's Park should be skirted with firs, elms, and plane-trees. There should be more planting at the Craigs, the railway station, on the banks of the river east of Cambuskenneth, and at the entrance of the carriage drive from the public road to Abbey Craig. The royal gardens should be restored, and the hanging gardens at the Haining replanted and readorned. Such adornments and plantations would, in a few years, be abundantly perceptible. And you should have amenities of another sort. You should erect baths and lavatories, to be open to the public at a moderate charge. Already, through private munificence, you possess a museum, but you should convert the lately-restored tower of Cambuskenneth into a grand receptacle of geological and palæontological specimens, and the various halls of the Wallace monument into a repository of ancient armour, and such statuary as you can collect. Round the principal hall you should, on suitable pedestals, range the best executed figures of our distinguished countrymen. Begin with stucco, marble will follow. In Cambuskenneth Tower place the skeleton of the great whale which, fourteen years ago, was found in its vicinity. To the presently existing reading-room add a consulting library of new books in departments of the arts. Suitable dwellings for the working classes are needed; those in Lower Castle Hill and the Craigs are not always well ventilated, and are destitute of modern conveniences. Let the hamlet of 'The Abbey' be rendered more accessible by throwing an iron suspension bridge across the river; the surplus funds of Cowane's Hospital could not be better applied."

In the same speech I referred to the contemplated monumental statue of King Robert the Bruce in these words :

"Permit me to urge upon you the speedy completion of a

work which considerably lags; I refer to the erection of a monumental figure of the Bruce on the Castle Hill. The project has been countenanced by our gracious sovereign, and sanctioned by the public authorities of the State, and why should it linger? . . . Scotland has been described as a poor country; it will prove a poor country indeed if it has exhausted all its means in commemorating Wallace, and has nothing left for a monument to Bruce. One of your townsmen—now gone to his rest—has on your Castle Hill reared memorial statues in honour of those who contended for our religious liberties. Can we not collectively erect one figure more, in honour of that patriot king who laid the foundation of our liberty, both civil and religious. We cannot all be heroes and martyrs if we would, but we can all show appreciation of those who fought and bled that our liberties might be won. Our generous English brethren will not begrudge our enthusiasm. . . . Or should they complain that we value ourselves too highly on our great victory over the Plantagenet, let us apostrophise their country in the lines of Scott, after describing what they lost at Bannockburn:

“ ‘ Yet mourn not, land of fame!
 Though ne’er the leopards on thy shield
 Retreated from so sad a field
 Since Norman William came;
 Oft may thine annals justly boast
 Of battles stern by Scotland lost;
 Grudge not her victory,
 When for her free-born rights she strove—
 Rights dear to all who freedom love,
 To none so dear as thee.’ ”

The proposal to erect a monumental statue of King Robert the Bruce on the Castle Hill of Stirling was originated in the autumn of 1869; my friend Mr George Cruikshank prepared a suitable model. About five years ago a site was granted by the War Department; and, as a sum nearly sufficient to effect the object has been secured, it is to be hoped that the undertaking will be speedily completed.

CHAPTER V.

PATRIOTISM AND ITS PENALTIES.

“ I would relate
How Wallace fought for Scotland ; left the name
Of Wallace to be found like a wild-flower
All over his dear country.”

—*Wordsworth.*

“ The very head and front of my offending
Hath this extent, no more.”

—*Shakespeare.*

WHEN in 1853 Lord Palmerston delivered to the students of Glasgow College a rectorial address, he used the expressions “ England ” and “ Englishmen ” in alluding to Scotland and natives of the North. At what he deemed “ an insult ” to his country, Mr William Burns, a solicitor in Glasgow, was offended greatly, and demanded from his lordship an explanation. Through his private secretary, the good-natured viscount informed Mr Burns that “ in using the words England and Englishmen he meant no disparagement to Scotland, Ireland, or Wales.” Still dissatisfied, Mr Burns appealed to the *Times* newspaper, but, not to offend Anglican susceptibilities, chose the signature of “ A North Briton.” Less courteous than the Rector of Glasgow College, the editor of the

Times laughed sarcastically; and what was more crushing, even the editor of the *Glasgow Citizen*, the most genial of Scottish journalists, exclaimed, "Ha! ha!"

To one vehicle only might the Glasgow patriot attach his hobby-horse. The *Caledonian Mercury*, an aged newspaper, then infirm, and, as it proved, moribund, had for some months been asserting a national grievance, more specific, though not less odd, than that urged by the Glasgow attorney. Scotland, said the *Mercury*, had, by England, her crafty and ambitious sister, been wounded in a tender point, for in the imperial escutcheon her emblems were ignored, her lion degraded, and the crown of her unicorn struck off. A complaint so unique in its nature, and which assumed no inconsiderable proportions, must, in relation to the sequel, be described fully. Those associated with the *Mercury* were not content to ventilate their grievance in its columns only; they approached the Lord Lyon King-of-Arms in a memorial, long, formal, and minute. In this instrument, dated the 23d January 1853, they set forth:

"That flags and royal standards are displayed on the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, quartered with the arms of Great Britain, as borne in England; in so far as the lion rampant, being the royal arms of Scotland, is placed in the second quarter of the said standards, and not in the first and fourth; and the arms of the said kingdom of England are placed in the first and fourth, and not in the second: that the union standard displayed on the said forts is the union as borne in England, and

not as borne in Scotland, the cross of St Andrew being placed behind the cross of St George, instead of in front thereof, and having a red stripe run through the arms thereof, for which there is no precedent in the law of heraldry : that the new two-shilling piece, called a florin, which has lately been re-issued, bears upon the reverse of Her Majesty's head four crowned shields, the first or uppermost bearing the three lions *passant* of England; the second, or right hand proper, the harp of Ireland; the third, or left hand proper, the lion rampant of Scotland; and the fourth, or lower, the three lions of England repeated: that the arms of Scotland are placed in the third instead of the second shield, a preference being given to the arms of Ireland over those of this kingdom: and that the imperial crown, which, from time immemorial has been borne upon the head of the unicorn, the supporter of Scotland in the arms of Great Britain, has been struck from its head upon the Great Seal of Great Britain and Ireland, and all other official seals used there."

As a remedy to the alleged wrong, the memorialists entreated the Lord Lyon to adopt measures prompt and vigorous; they prayed,

"That his lordship will cause a warrant to issue forth of the Lyon Court of this kingdom, addressed to the heralds, pursuivants, and messengers-at-arms, authorising them to visit, search for, seize, and escheat all royal standards and union flags bearing unwarrantable arms quartered thereon, found within the castle of Edinburgh, the castle of Stirling, the castle of Dumbarton, and all other military forts, garrisons, palaces, or royal castles within the realm. Further, and that his lordship will grant a requisition to Her Majesty's Government, requiring them to recall the issue of the florin now in circulation, and have the same restruck with the arms of Scotland in their proper place;" also, "to make a requisition to the keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain, in England, requesting him to have restored to the head of the unicorn the imperial crown, which from time immemorial has been placed thereon."

To the memorialists, the Earl of Kinnoull, who held office as Lord Lyon, reported that his sovereign functions “extended over the armorial bearings of subjects only,” an answer which drove the complainers directly to the throne. Receiving the memorial, the Queen entrusted it to Garter King-of-Arms; but “Garter,” the petitioners maintained, “could not comprehend a Scottish subject, nor would he render justice to a nation which his countrymen had oppressed!” Garter consulted the Lord Lyon, and both concurred that the complaint was fanciful and groundless. “Did not the Scottish national arms adorn the walls of Holyrood Palace; the royal pew of Edinburgh High Church; and the Lord High Commissioner’s throne in the Assembly Hall; also the panels of his Grace’s carriage, and the trappings of his horses; and were not British or English coins and standards used not in Scotland only but in every section of the empire?”

Dissatisfied with the answer, the memorialists cast mud: Garter and England had been denounced already; but the Earl of Kinnoull was now informed that he received a salary of £600 in connection with an office for which he was unfit, and that his subordinates were useless and incapable like himself.

At this stage Mr William Burns appeared prominently. On the 14th July 1853, in the *Caledonian Mercury*, under the signature of “A Leal Scotch-

man,"* he complained that Scotland had not only been robbed of her arms, but plundered of her name. He wrote :

"England and the English are now all in all in Parliament ; in official explanations, nay, even in the Government notifications to the world, is it the British Fleet that is in the Mediterranean Sea at present ? by no means, it is the *English* Fleet. An English ambassador is at Constantinople, and England is to hold the balance in the present state of Europe. Even Captain Loch has, in English journals, been anglicised and termed Captain Locke !"

These were mild words ; but, in 1855, Mr Burns expressed himself more decisively. In a publication of that year,† under the pseudonym of "The Professor of Ancient History in the College of St Mungo," he described Lord Palmerston as "a palmist," and England as a thief, which followed

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they shall take who have the power
And they shall keep who can."

Were not "Scotland's sons," asked Mr Burns, "held as bastards," and did not "English inquisitors of

* Mr Burns subsequently renounced the use of the word *Scotchman*. "No one," he wrote in 1858, "can have failed to remark the frequently displayed and, we fear, steadily growing *animus*, on the part of English writers, especially in the London journals, to speak disparagingly of everything Scottish—or 'Scotch,' as the modern orthography has it, since Byron told Jeffrey, for the sake of alliteration we suppose, that the critic had 'Scotched, not killed the Scotchman,' in his lordship's breast" (Scotland and her Calumniators, p. 3).

† This publication is entitled "The True History of Alexander, John, and Patrick, and of the great Mercantile and Manufacturing Concern carried on by them under the name of John, Alexander, & Co. ; from an old MS. in the Museum of the Sydney University, Australia. By the Professor of Ancient History in the College of St Mungo. Dedicated (without permission) to the Rector and *Senatus Academicus* of said University."

excise inspect her whisky casks and gauge her beverages ? ”

The “grievances” of a suppressed name and degraded arms excited towards the complainers, from “the upper ten thousand,” either ridicule or compassion. But persons actuated by one idea are singularly persistent. *The populace might be moved.* The western Highlanders were lately suffering from the potato blight; they might be persuaded that blame rested upon the Government, or upon England, or upon Scottish Parliamentary representatives. So the Highlanders were informed that,

“An act of Government deprived them of the manufacture of kelp; game laws robbed them of that food which the bountiful hand of Providence ever provides to the inhabitants of barren and rocky countries, incapable of producing sufficient crops of grain; . . . the landlords claimed all that winged the air; claimed all that fed on the land; and claimed all that swam the waters. . . . The cow, whose milk they so much depended upon, had to be slaughtered as a last resource; and when that was gone, starvation appeared on every side. Then arose the low wail of supplication; then the Scot, who had never before sought relief in charity, found his spirit broken, and that he had become a beggar. Unable to pay his rent, it had fallen into arrear, and warrants of ejection followed. The relentless landlord levelled his cot to the ground, and he was homeless.” *

To the trumpet of sedition the peasantry of the Highlands were too indolent to respond. An appeal to industrial Lowlanders might succeed better; it was attempted in these words:

“The Scottish capital has become a village; her royal palaces

* *Caledonian Mercury*, May 5, 1853.

are permitted to moulder in obscure decay; her aristocracy are aliens; her national character is demoralised; her name is a reproach; her affairs are a laughing-stock; she fights the battles of the empire in peace and war; fills the imperial treasury; is not addicted to dissension or complaint; leads a godly and upright life—and she asks for bread and receives a stone; for fish and she gets a serpent. If there is to be war, why, she is left to fight with a porridge-stick. . . . The lions of Wallace and of Bruce are spat upon and turned upside down. Against this deliberate system of sack and plunder we have been greatly too humble, too long-suffering. Daniel O'Connell told his hereditary bondsmen, some thirteen thousand times, that, who would be free, themselves must strike the blow; and the advice was so good that he was right to repeat it, and we cannot do better than adopt it. With submission and silence we are worse than dogs.” *

“Did not Providence make Scotland *man*, and is not England making that man flunkey? . . . Are not our nobles becoming fast denationalised? . . . Do not our clergy look to England for Crown patronage and preferment? . . . Are we not in fact a dependent nation? Are we not miserable recreants, that we suffer our once noble nation to sink into mean subserviency—to sneak and snivel—and accept what England may please to give us, thankful that we are not worse treated? . . . Once let the Scottish artillerymen, well drilled, well united, and well commanded, make their nightly or weekly display, or their display even regularly and invariably at all times, when the interest of the country demands, and the House of Commons will cease to smile or to jeer, or to go to dinner or to bed, or to talk of brimstone; they will smell not brimstone but gunpowder!” †

Such a farrago would have proved most mischievous in Ireland, but on the intelligent Scottish Lowlander it was lost. The *Mercury* agitators resolved

* *Caledonian Mercury*, May 9, 1853.

† *Ib.*, July 14 and 30.

in another fashion to ventilate a project, which had rendered them conspicuous. They instituted a society,* with an imposing designation, enumerating a list of thirty grievances, being a copious selection to those disposed to entertain its pleas. Among the grievances were those reasonable complaints that Scotland was imperfectly represented in the House of Commons; that the universities had fallen behind the requirements of the age; and that many of the palaces and public buildings were in a state of disrepair. Within a few months after its formation, the society (its real purpose being unknown) obtained the support of many influential persons; among others, the Earl of Eglinton, a true patriot and one of the most chivalrous of his countrymen. Under his lordship's presidency a public meeting was held at Edinburgh on the 2d November, when Lord Provost Maclaren, now M.P., Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., Professor Aytoun, and other notable persons, discoursed on recognised grievances, and urged a necessary reform. At a meeting held at Glasgow, on the 15th December, resolutions were passed, requesting the national representatives to support Scottish claims in the House of Commons.

At these meetings and others, the leading speakers deprecated every attempt which might foment international dissension. At the Edinburgh meeting Lord Eglinton said: "Nothing shall ever induce me

* The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights.

to lend my aid to anything which shall sow dissension—to anything which can have the effect of sowing dissension between the two countries; I never will belong to any society which has such for its object.”

Had the leaders of the movement been content with moderate measures—had they abandoned their crotchets—it is not unlikely that legislative reforms which were not accomplished for several years afterwards, might have been effected at once. The Vindication Society, as it was called, enrolled three thousand members, including thirteen peers and thirty-nine town councils. But a committee of three hundred which had been nominated, were induced to delegate their authority to a portion of their number—a plan which suited the aims of the society’s projectors. In this body it was proposed to revise the treaty of the union, to banish from the North the British flag, and to demand that the name of Scotland should no longer be ignored in Parliamentary speeches or polite conversation! With leaders putting forth such puerile sentiments, no movement might succeed. The collapse of the association may be described in Mr Burns’s own words; he thus wrote in 1866 :

“I made bold to tell the gentlemen of the association that they behoved to take higher ground than matters of fiscal expenditure, or equality of representation, as based on mere numbers, if they hoped to succeed in the vindication of their country’s claims; that in such a discussion they need expect neither favour nor fair play; that it was only by accepting the chal-

lenge of the English journals, and resting their demands upon the broad basis of national institutions, national rights, and national grievances, that they could hope to obtain anything like justice. But there were wiser men at the head of affairs, practical men, who eschewed anything so vague, and yet serious as national questions; and so the association fell to pieces, and another step was taken towards the degradation or extinction of Scotland's history."*

The ridicule of the Scottish peers when a memorial of the Vindication Society was presented to the House of Lords, on the 6th April 1854, was sufficient to crush an institution which had possessed substantial existence not more than six months. Thus three thousand persons came to be befooled and laughed at through the persistent folly of five or six. The discomfited contenders threw some firebrands, and having gratified *præfervidum ingenium*, thereafter relapsed into silence. Of the entire staff of agitators, three only reappeared, one to flit about, helping and being helped, the two others to strangely blend themselves with a portion of my own history.

With the Scottish Rights' movement the proposal of rearing a national monument to Sir William Wallace was wholly disconnected. In my volume, "A Week at Bridge of Allan," published in October 1851, I suggested the propriety of crowning the Abbey Craig with a monument to that hero; and at the same time I was privileged to intimate that if

* What's in a Name, by the Author of Letters from a North Briton to Lord Palmerston. Glasgow, 1866, 12mo, p. 57.

the proposal was approved, Mr John Macfarlane of Coneyhill, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, would commence a subscription with fifty pounds. That sum was afterwards paid. About this period, Mr Patric Park, an ingenious sculptor, fashioned a colossal statue of Wallace, to be placed in some public situation ; and though it was not quite suited for the Abbey Craig, I sought to ventilate the subject ; others desired to secure it for Edinburgh ; and the artist, disappointed that his model was not more generally appreciated, hastily destroyed it. The Abbey Craig project slumbered till the spring of 1856, when it was awakened under the following circumstances :

On the repeal of the duty on newspapers, a daily journal, under title of the *Bulletin*, was established at Glasgow. In a letter, dated 14th March 1856, Mr Colin Rae Brown, one of the proprietors, informed me that Wallace had been assailed in an Edinburgh periodical, and begged me in his journal to join in reproving the writer. In a subsequent letter, Mr Brown expressed a desire that I would support a movement for rearing a monument to Wallace on Glasgow Green. In reply, I enclosed to him an extract from my work on Bridge of Allan, and recommended the Abbey Craig proposal as a more reasonable one. Mr Brown concurred, and invited me to suggest how that scheme might be launched. Finding that the Abbey Craig belonged to the town

council of Stirling, I thought of approaching that body from two several directions. The late Mr Sheriff Logan communicated with the provost from Edinburgh, and I requested Mr Brown to adopt a similar course in reference to Glasgow. My letter to Mr Brown was in the following terms :

“STIRLING, *April 16, 1856.*

“DEAR SIR,—Since I received your letter of the 14th, I have been considering what should be done ; I have arrived at a conclusion. Write to the Provost of Stirling, intimating that a number of gentlemen intend to meet at Stirling on an early day, to consider the propriety of erecting a monument to Wallace near the scene of his greatest victory, and urge the provost to preside.—Faithfully yours,

CHARLES ROGERS.”

Following my suggestion, Mr Brown convened a number of his friends at Glasgow in the Globe Hotel. That meeting was held on the 1st of May, and eleven persons were present. Among these was Mr William Burns, who was invited to preside. A minute was prepared, and by Mr Burns despatched to Stirling. On the plea that he had presided at this meeting, Mr Burns afterwards accepted credit as originator of the monument.

On receiving these two applications, Provost Sawers of Stirling issued the following circular :

“COUNCIL CHAMBERS, STIRLING, *7th May 1856.*

“SIR,—It having been suggested from various quarters, that a great national meeting should be held in Stirling, to consider the propriety of erecting a monument to the memory of Sir William Wallace, I will feel obliged by your attending a preliminary

meeting, to take this proposal into consideration, to be held in the Council Chamber, on Monday first, at 12 o'clock noon.—I am, Sir, your very obedient servant, JOHN SAWERS, *Provost.*”

On Monday the 12th May, the magistrates proceeded in procession to the Council Chamber, accompanied by the principal burgesses. The provost explained that he had convened the meeting consequent on receiving requisitions from gentlemen at Edinburgh and Glasgow, suggesting that a monument to Wallace should be reared on the Abbey Craig. No deputation was present from either city, and I had the privilege of stating the case, and moving that the monument should be built. There was universal acquiescence, and I was, along with the town-clerk depute, nominated secretary of a provisional committee. The entire correspondence, and nearly all the business of the undertaking, devolved on me for six years afterwards.

The provisional committee applied to the town council of Stirling for a site on the Abbey Craig, which was granted at once. Then we proceeded to consider how the enterprise might be established on a broad and satisfactory basis. Except on the ground that so long a period had elapsed since the patriot flourished, I did not anticipate any actual opposition. At this stage I was unaware that a member of the Vindication Committee had presided at the Glasgow meeting, nor, though I had been informed, could I have conceived the possibility that

any sane man would attempt, after the lapse of six centuries, to refer to the war of races, so as to revive old and forgotten conflicts.

Sir William Wallace was not a native Scot; he belonged to a southern, not a northern race. Probably of Welsh extraction,* his ancestor, it is believed, proceeded northward in the train of that member of the family of Fitzalan, which founded the Scottish House of Stewart. Richard Walence or Waleys was in the twelfth century one of the principal vassals of the Stewarts in Kyle; in his lands of Riccarton he was succeeded by his son and grandson, both named Richard. A member of the family of Riccarton held lands under the House of Stewart in Renfrewshire, of whom Adam Walence, called "miles noster" in a charter of the second Walter, flourished in the reign of Alexander II. A son of this person, Malcolm Waleys of Elderslie, married Joan, daughter of Sir Reginald Crawford of Crosbie, Sheriff of Ayr, by whom he

* Robertus Walensis is mentioned in connection with Yorkshire in the year 1178-79 (Rol. Pip in com. Ebor., 25 Henry II.). In 1232-33 Willemus Walensis is named in the county of Norfolk (Rol. Pip in com. Norf., M. 1., dorso 17 Hen. III.). John le Waleis in Essex, appears in 1263-64 (*ib.* in com. Essex, 48 Hen. III.); and in 1270-71 is named Johan Waleis, agistator forestæ de Salseto (*ib.* 55 Henry III.). In 1282 and the two following years Henry Waleys held office as Mayor of London; and Henry Waleis, probably son of the former, was elected mayor in 1298 (Maitland's History of London, Lond. 1739, fol., p. 560). In 1299, when part of the Palace of Westminster, and the buildings of the adjoining monastery, were destroyed by fire, a parliament was held by Edward I. in the house of Henry Waleis, Mayor of London, at Stebenheth, "when crokards, pollards, and rosaries coyned in foreign parts beyond seas and uttered for sterlings, were cried down" (Stow's English Chronicles).

was father of three sons, Andrew, William, and John, all of whom suffered in defence of their country. William Waleys, the second son, was the Scottish hero.

In contending for his country's privileges, Wallace did not originate a war of race. He belonged to an independent kingdom, and irrespective of his origin, determined to do battle for the right. His public career continued not more than eight years, and though he was not always victorious, he inspired that love of liberty which triumphed ultimately.

At an early meeting of the provisional committee, Mr William Burns presented himself. He was quite unknown to us, but as a member of the Glasgow committee he was received and welcomed. Having appointed the Provost of Stirling as our treasurer, we resolved to select an acting committee, which might be constituted at a national meeting we proposed to assemble in the King's Park.

As members of the acting committee, we resolved to invite conspicuous persons in the principal towns, and I accordingly proceeded to wait on some who had been named. At Glasgow, I found that one name we had recorded was generally disapproved; Mr Burns was described as crotchety and opinionative, and indisposed to respect the convictions of those who were opposed to him. In other towns our movement was generally associated with the insane nostrums of the Vindication Society, and I

found much difficulty in persuading any one that this opinion was unfounded. When we began to appoint speakers for the national meeting we suffered from a similar misapprehension.

There was much difficulty in securing a president. Lord Eglinton, the most popular and patriotic of Scottish noblemen, remarked that he had been "burnt," and declined the office. The Duke of Montrose excused himself in like manner.* The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine had lately returned from his duties as governor of Canada, and I waited on him at his seat. He was happily ignorant of the Vindication business, and assented to my request, but, when a few days afterwards the prevailing rumour reached him, he desired to recede.

Mr Burns was not unaware of the sinister report, and was probably informed of the want of confidence in himself; and he took care to explain to us, that while he could not surrender his opinions, he would not unnecessarily obtrude them. We were satisfied with his co-operation on these terms; and notwithstanding the earnest entreaty of a friend at Glasgow that I should resign the secretaryship and abandon the committee, I anticipated no mischief from the action of our patriotic colleague.

The national meeting, duly announced by public

* Of all those who had been misled in regard to the purposes of the Scottish Vindicators, none continued to feel more acutely than the late gifted and genial Professor Aytoun. He was scarcely tolerant in conversing on this subject; he considered he had been imposed on and befooled.

advertisement in the leading journals, was fixed to take place at Stirling on the 24th of June 1856. Four days previously the roll of the acting committee was made up, and the provisional committee dissolved. On a day thereafter, Mr Burns sent me a telegram, requesting that Mr John M. Mitchell of Mayville, Leith, might be added to the committee. Unwilling to offend, I consulted Provost Sawers, and added Mr Mitchell's name. This gentleman was a member of the Vindication Committee; he had suited Mr Burns in their former connection, and was doubtless expected to be useful to him now. Not discourteous in private life, he coveted applause, and was more than willing to attach himself to any enterprise in connection with which he might become known or promote controversy. To Mr Burns he proved an ally for two years, when he offered his services to myself, but as they were declined, he turned to his former friendship.

Preparations for the national meeting, as well as the pecuniary responsibilities connected with it, amounting to upwards of two hundred pounds, devolved solely upon myself. The labour was disheartening. Sir John Maxwell, Bart. of Pollok, near Glasgow, brother-in-law of the president, to whom was entrusted the first resolution, withdrew on the 22d. There were several withdrawals on the morning of the 23d, and on the evening of that day a special messenger arrived from Lord Elgin, by whom he ex-

pressed his apprehension, that by appearing at Stirling next day he might seriously compromise himself. Mr Burns, who was now in Stirling, proceeded to Broomhall to reassure his lordship.

Lord Elgin accepted the explanation and came, and the national meeting passed off well. The principal speakers, associated with the president, were Lord Provost Melville of Edinburgh ; the Hon. Charles Baillie, afterwards Lord Jerviswoode ; Mr Sheriff Tait, brother of the Bishop of London ; Mr Sheriff Glassford Bell ; the Rev. Dr Gillan, afterwards Moderator of the General Assembly ; Mr Campbell of Monzie ; and Cluny Macpherson. Sir David Brewster accompanied Lord Elgin to the platform.

At the national meeting was named an acting committee of sixty-six persons, with the Duke of Montrose and Lord Elgin as presidents, the Hon. Charles Baillie as convener, and the depute town-clerk of Stirling and myself as secretaries. This committee held their first meeting at Stirling early in July. I was constituted acting secretary, with an allowance of £50 for two clerks, whom I employed ; and in consideration that my salary as garrison chaplain was only £74, and that attention to monumental affairs would interfere with my literary labours, I accepted £50 for personal service. Mr Mitchell denounced this vote, holding that patriotism was its own reward. Volunteering to canvass the continent of Europe for a fifth of the sum which had been voted me for taking charge of

one little island, he received £10 ; but the Continent, in his hands, was wholly unproductive !

Our aims were still misrepresented ; respectable journals insisted we were *vindicators* in disguise, while I was personally charged with promoting a movement antagonistic to England. So long as these erroneous opinions were in propagation, the movement, I felt, was seriously imperilled.

Under sanction of the acting committee, I printed and circulated an account of the national meeting, as a counteracting influence ; it contained these words of Mr Sheriff Bell :

“ My Lord, we are not here for the purpose of recalling the memory of feuds or animosities, but for the purpose of recalling the memory of a great patriot. Scotland and England are now one ; any Scotsman who entertained animosity towards England, or any Englishman who entertained animosity towards Scotland, would be set down as simply insane.”

I got up a public breakfast at Bridge of Allan, when the chairman, Mr Sheriff Tait, thus expressed our sentiments in reference to England :

“ England owes almost as much to Wallace as Scotland does. The independence of Scotland has been of the greatest advantage to England by bringing about a union between the two countries upon equal and honourable terms, and enabling a feeling of mutual regard and kindness to supersede ancient hostility. Had it not been for Wallace and the independence which he secured for his country, Scotland would have been a half-conquered and a discontented adjunct to England, bearing it a deadly grudge. It would have been another thorn in the side of England, such as Ireland has long been, instead of its friendly helpmate and

never-failing support, distinguished only by an honourable rivalry in all that is good and noble.”

When the true character of the movement became known, money began to flow into the treasury, and within two months I was enabled to report that preliminary expenses had been paid. In August, Mr James Dodds,* of London, a gentleman of rare gifts, and true patriotic sentiment, consented to join me in holding meetings in the principal towns. At a great meeting, held at Dunfermline about the middle of August, we were ably assisted by Mr Baillie Cochrane of Lamington, M.P., a descendant of the hero, and owner of his estates. Within the county room at Ayr we held a meeting in September, Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, M.P., occupying the chair. In the course of an admirable address, Mr Dodds spoke thus :

“Some have expressed a vain fear that the erection of such a monument, as betokening our Scottish nationality, may be antagonistic to England. Antagonistic to England!—our majestic and mighty sister—united to us by community of race and opinion—by long and endearing intercourse. It is almost impossible even to imagine a contingency which would bring about the smallest collision between us. But it is easy to foresee a turn of events in Europe in this uncertain and troubled time when the nationality of Scotland, our inspiring recollections and our adhesion to the liberty of nations, may be of immense importance in strengthening our common British empire, and

* This accomplished and excellent man, who is mentioned in the preceding chapter, proved of eminent service in the cause. With better opportunities Mr Dodds might have attained eminence both as a lawyer and a man of letters. He died suddenly at Dundee on the 12th September 1874, in his fifty-ninth year.

carrying her triumphantly through conflicts and unhallowed combinations, which may yet menace or overtake her. And if a time come when despotism will enter the lists with the one empire of free men, I can say the first soldier ordered by the tyrants to march against this land or any of its dependencies, the first gun fired in the battle between despotism and freedom, will send a thrill of exultation through old Scotland, such as she has never felt since the day that Wallace fought the battle of Stirling Bridge, and Bruce the battle of Bannockburn."

At a great meeting at Dumfries I used these words:

"Permit me to repeat the sentiment, eloquently put forth by Lord Elgin at the national meeting, that 'England herself owes to our patriot hero a debt of obligation second only to that which is due to him from ourselves.' Has any region under the dominion of the British crown been more easily governed than Scotland—been less clamorous in seasons of trial, or more loyal in periods of danger? Thanks to Wallace that we have not been irritated by feelings of national degradation; and by him, too, taught the lesson that it was our privilege and our duty to battle for the right, to rally round the throne, and fight manfully for the constitution. And well, too, we may claim the privilege of saying that if we derived, as we certainly did, many national benefits from our union with England, we, too, conferred on the south reciprocal advantages; the rose of England never bloomed so fair as when entwined and enfolded by the thistle of Scotland. Every intelligent Englishman honours the memory of Wallace; and many, I know, will join us in the present movement to do honour to his memory."

At Falkirk, Mr Dodds said:

"There is one objection which we sometimes hear—not so much as we used to do—which, if it were well founded, would be of grave political importance. It is, that a national monument to Wallace will be a demonstration of hostility against England, and tend to revive ancient prejudices and enmities.

I say candidly, if there were the least scintilla of reason for dreading this would be the case, I, for my humble part, would no further press this movement. However gratifying to Scottish feelings, however lovely and majestic might be a monument to Wallace, that is a work of art—that is a sweet vision of the imagination; it is a secondary one which may be deferred or dispensed with. But a perfect, unruffled accord with England; heart to heart, hand to hand, without shadow to obscure it, or breath to disturb it; that is a matter of the first political necessity, and cannot be dispensed with—cannot be tampered with. Yet, as an indication how groundless is this objection, I have never heard it made by an Englishman. Our English brethren are too gallant and generous to stoop to any such invidious objection; too great a people to busy themselves about small fancied hostilities; are themselves proud of their own heroes; and in the inspiring words of their own Chatham, ‘honour merit wherever it is found, and ask not whether a brave man has been cradled on this or the other side of the Tweed.’”

At Edinburgh, a great meeting was held in the end of November. I expected the co-operation of the Rev. Dr Guthrie; and it was with no ordinary feeling of regret that a day or two before the meeting I received from him a communication, dated the 24th November, reporting that, from the state of his health, he was compelled to return into the country. “I hope,” he added in his letter, “your meeting will be a very successful one, and that a monument to Wallace will be followed up by the erection of monuments to two other great Scotsmen, John Knox and Thomas Chalmers.”

At the Edinburgh meeting Lord Provost Melville presided, and among the other speakers were Professor Blackie, Mr Sheriff Logan, and Mr Sheriff

Tait. To the alleged sympathy of the promoters with the views of the Scottish *vindicators*, Mr Tait referred in these terms :

“One of the objections urged against the movement is that, at this time of day, when England and Scotland are become so much associated together, and about one-half of England comes down to Scotland every year, it is a pity to engender anything like ill-feeling. Now, I differ from those who profess a fear of hurting the feelings of the English people. Have you not seen the Scottish Brigade and the English regiments operating cordially together during the late war? Instead of the movement exciting bad feeling in England, I know that there the name of Wallace inspires respect and admiration; and I hope ere long to see a monument to the hero among the other British heroes in the House of the Imperial Parliament.”

At Dumbarton, Mr Steele, sheriff-substitute of the county, spoke thus :

“England has no desire or intention to insult us; nor is it her interest to do so. She knows that it was our spirit of nationality which kept our soldiers a firm phalanx on the field of battle, and made a union with us beneficial to herself both in times of war and of peace. England, above all other nations, rejoices in absolute justice, and desires to see fair play. Only convince England that we really have grievances, and redress is certain. By erecting a monument to Wallace we will show our feelings as Scotsmen—our determination to maintain our rights. But we must have substantial injuries to complain of before we can secure the sympathy of England. John Bull is a matter-of-fact sort of person; and it is useless to go to him with any heraldic grievance, as he, being a practical man, cannot understand it; he considers it as fanciful and imaginative, having no reference to the business of life; and so laughs, both at us and our complaint. But if our complaint is really serious, then John Bull will soon make his cudgel flourish round his head, and woe be to him who comes within its reach.”

At Dundee, the acting committee were assisted at a public meeting by an eloquent oration from Mr George Gilfillan :

“It is,” said Mr Gilfillan, “the weak invention of our enemies to confound the Wallace movement with that other movement in defence of what are called ‘Scottish Rights.’ . . . One may surely reverence Wallace, and desire and labour to do honour to his memory, without finding fault with the subsisting relations of the northern with the southern part of the island. I rejoice in the union between the two countries ; and I honour the memory of Wallace, because, but for the success with which, in his own lifetime, and after his death, by his example in the person of Robert Bruce, Scottish independence was defended against aggressive usurpation, no union would ever have taken place between the two countries upon which we, as Scotsmen, would have any cause whatever to congratulate ourselves.”

Meetings on behalf of the undertaking were held at Alloa, Greenock, Kilmarnock, Sanquhar, Stirling, and other places, at all of which we gave forth no uncertain sound respecting the scope and character of the movement. These efforts were not wasted ; for while, at the first, we could hardly satisfy any of our countrymen that we were not *vindicators* in disguise, we now obtained a large measure of support ; and at the end of our first year of agitation, could report subscriptions to the amount of £2500. Among the contributors were the Lord Chancellor Campbell ; the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone ; the Right Reverend Crawford Tait, Bishop of London ; the Attorney-General ; the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Argyll ; the Marquis of Breadalbane ; the

Marquis of Dalhousie ; the Marchioness of Stafford ; Admiral Sir Charles Napier ; and Major-General Cameron, commanding the forces in Scotland. Latterly, the whole of the Scottish peerage, with very few exceptions, contributed to the fund.

Our earlier supporters included Mr Thomas Carlyle, who joined our honorary committee ; John Thomson Gordon, Esq., Sheriff of Edinburgh ; and Alexander Baillie Cochrane, Esq. of Lamington, M.P. Mr Baillie Cochrane, who was then on the Continent, replied to my communication in the following terms :

“ VICHY, DEPARTMENT D’ALIER,
“ LA FRANCE, *June 8, 1856.*

“ SIR,—Your letter of the 30th of May has only just reached me, and I much regret this delay, for my reply might have had the effect of inducing the provisional committee to postpone for a few days the public meeting in favour of a monument to Sir William Wallace. I venture to express this opinion, not that I have the vanity to imagine that my presence could add anything of weight to this important meeting, but in consequence of my representing Sir William Wallace, through his daughter, the heiress of Lamington, who married Sir William Baillie of Hoprig, in East Lothian, which estates were then united to the Lamington property. This descent naturally gives me a most lively interest in the meeting which has been fixed for the 24th. I can now only hope that something may occur to induce the committee to postpone the meeting to the first week in July, when I shall esteem it at once a great privilege and honour to address it in favour of any resolution which may be placed in my hands.

“ It was some time since proposed by some gentlemen of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire to erect a monument to Sir William Wallace on the top of Lamington Hill, where it would be visible

to the whole country round. I opened a large subscription towards this object, but owing to my having been compelled to leave Scotland at that time, nothing was definitely settled. Will you have the kindness to submit my letter, with the expression of my deep respect, to the gentlemen composing the provisional committee.—I have the honour to remain, Sir, your very obedient Servant,

“ALEXANDER BAILLIE COCHRANE.

“Rev. Dr ROGERS.”

Though on the subject of antagonism to the sister country altogether silent, Mr Burns was constantly preparing for a contemplated *dénouement*. The nomination of Mr Mitchell as a member of committee was a first step. At Glasgow, he desired to be held as the originator and conductor of the undertaking. By the provisional committee a description of the Abbey Craig, from my “Week at Bridge of Allan,” had been embodied in the general prospectus, while the site of the proposed monument was represented in an elegant engraving originally used in that work. Mr Burns, who had found the prospectus suitable in May,* objected to it in July. He declined to circulate papers which contained any reference to my writings, and insisted, too, that a new engraving should be prepared. A new steel plate cost £25, and the other alterations as much more.

We sent our collector to Glasgow in December,

* I quote from the minute: “*Stirling, 14th May 1856.*—At a meeting of the Wallace Monument Committee held this day; sederunt, Mr Murrie, Dr Rogers, Mr Wingate—Mr Burns, chairman of the Glasgow committee, was also present: *inter alia*, the draft of a prospectus being submitted by Dr Rogers, the meeting ordered it to be printed.”

but Mr Burns was "not ready" for his services. The collector called at his office from day to day, and was ultimately informed that he might attend to business elsewhere. I gave him temporary employment to enable him to subsist.* Dissatisfied that the new prospectus with the new engraving did not contain his name as "chairman of the Glasgow committee," Mr Burns prepared a third prospectus, and proceeded to rent "Wallace Committee Rooms" at Glasgow. The adventure cost one hundred pounds, but Mr Burns collected a considerable sum, including several subscriptions made to the acting committee, which he deposited apart from the general fund in the National Bank at Glasgow.

With a nucleus of subscription, Mr Burns probably contemplated the early development of his scheme. He desired that I should relinquish the post of secretary. As I had informed him that, having only as garrison chaplain the small salary of £74

* From the collector, Mr James Strachan, I received on the 12th October 1861 a letter intended to correct certain misrepresentations of Mr Burns. It contains the following: "The statement as to my having canvassed simultaneously for the Wallace Monument and your publications is a positive untruth. . . . I did canvass for subscribers to the 'Modern Scottish Minstrel;' but every one who chooses to look at the entries in my subscription book, or my statements of accounts furnished to the treasurer, will find that, when so employed, I made no charge against the Wallace Monument fund; but made such entries as the following—'Otherwise employed from date to date.' I beg to state further, that I canvassed for your book only in Glasgow, and that for about a fortnight; while in that city I never solicited a single subscription on behalf of the Wallace Monument. Permit me to add, that Mr Burns declined to allow me to collect for the fund in Glasgow; he professing to have authority to rule the collection of subscriptions there."

a year, I could not afford gratuitously to discharge the secretarial duties, he proposed in June 1857 that my allowance should be withdrawn! I assented to the loss of salary, but maintained my office. That economy induced Mr Burns to make his proposal does not seem very consistent with his liberal expenditure on separate prospectuses and committee rooms. Nor may he readily be credited with the belief that I imperfectly fulfilled the duties of secretary, for only two months before he had granted me the following certificate, in connection with my candidature for the secretaryship of the Ferguson Bequest : *

“DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in saying that from my experience of your acquirements, your intelligence, and knowledge of business, your activity, perseverance, and your unimpeachable character, you are peculiarly fitted for the duties of superintendent of the Ferguson Bequest; and I assure you I shall have much pleasure in hearing of your success.

“WILLIAM BURNS.

“GLASGOW, 26th March 1857.”

In July 1857, as a delegate from the acting committee, I proceeded to England, and formed local committees at Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool; I also visited London, and there held interviews with leading Scotsmen relative to the subscription. To save unnecessary expense, I combined in my visit to England the secretarial representation of the Scottish Literary Institute, which had

* Mr John Ferguson of Cairnbrock, Ayrshire, bequeathed a large sum, of which the annual revenue was to be applied to educational and charitable purposes.

sent a deputation to London to hold a conference with Scottish Members of Parliament respecting university reform.

When differences with Mr Burns afterwards reached a climax, a letter appeared in a Glasgow newspaper, alleging that I had, in connection with my London journey, drawn "full expenses" both from the Wallace Monument committee and from the Institute. The writer proceeded thus :

"When Dr Rogers went to London on the monument business, another association, called the Literary Institute, was charged with his expenses, and had to pay the same, as may be ascertained by reference to the books and accounts. Whether it be orthodox in matters of patriotism and literature to work double tides, and ask pay for both pockets, I leave your readers to judge ; but a plain statement of the sums paid to Dr Rogers by the monument fund and by the Literary Institute for the same visit to London would be exceedingly instructive in the present state of the monument controversy."

In answer to this scandalous suggestion, the following letter, which I sent to the treasurer of the Scottish Literary Institute, on my return from London, will show how I really acted :

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just returned home, and now send you account of expenses, being £13, 5s. 10d. The sum had been larger but for the circumstance that I have charged a portion of my expenses against the Wallace committee, on whose business I was likewise in England."

The entire expenses of my visit to England amounted to £29, 5s. 10d.—£16 being charged against the monument fund.

The Wallace committee met monthly, and in different localities. Nearly at every meeting some strange proposition was urged by Mr Burns or Mr Mitchell, both of whom regularly attended ; and as members were occasionally present who were unacquainted with the business, it became essential that I should be accompanied to every meeting by one or two persons sufficient to secure a majority. On occasions when I was not so accompanied, mischief invariably happened. On one occasion, Mr Burns carried a motion that we should make application to the Queen ; he framed a memorial, which I forwarded to a Cabinet Minister for presentation. The reply was a gracious one, but at a subsequent meeting we withdrew our application.

At Glasgow I purchased a colossal statue of Wallace, by Handyside Ritchie, with a view to its being erected at Stirling, where it now stands. To the provost of Stirling, as vice-convenor of the Wallace committee, Mr Burns addressed a communication calling upon him to convene the committee, that I might "be deprived of office for dividing my energies." The provost hinted that, as I was supported by the town's people, such a motion would be dangerous. A member of committee was at this time on the point of losing his office ; he was offered another appointment if he would support my deprivation !

I still received £50 to remunerate my clerks. Mr

Burns intimated that he would no longer consent that this sum should be paid me; I anticipated his motion by resigning the allowance.* As a further step towards the consummation of his scheme, Mr Burns published a pamphlet: it was styled "Scotland and her Calumniators."† Commending the injunction, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour," Mr Burns indulged in fierce denunciation of the English. "Their history," he writes, "has for upwards of a thousand years only presented a series of wholesale conquests by foreign invaders," while "the whole history of Scotland has been one of resistance to their assumption." "The English," he proceeds, "shed the blood of Scottish Covenanters;" and their House of Lords "contained more bishops than Scottish peers," and "usurped a right of review over Scottish courts." Among Scotsmen "affected with Anglo-mania" Mr Burns named Mr James Baird and Mr Walter Buchanan, Members of Parliament, and Dr Charles Mackay, editor of the *Illustrated London News*—the first as "a religious vandal;" the second "as a contemptible Anglo-

* In 1858 my salary, as chaplain of Stirling Castle, was increased from £74 to £150 per annum. From the Wallace committee I was allowed—in 1859, and subsequently—£1 monthly, to enable me to provide written instead of printed circulars, in the interests of the fund. Having personally to discharge the duties both of secretary and clerk, I was obliged, for three years, to almost wholly abandon my literary avocations. Besides my paid clerks I was assisted in the Wallace correspondence by the members of my family.

† The full title is: "Scotland and her Calumniators: her Past; her Present; and her Future: Remarks suggested by the Strictures of the London Press. By the Author of The History of John, Alexander, and Patrick. *Nemo me impune lacessit.*" Glasgow, 1858, pp. 76.

maniac;" the third as "a libeller of Scotland." For "a whipping-post" he proposed—

"Architects, builders, and other snobs, who, with pitiable flunkeyism, would convert energetic and self-reliant Glasgow into a mere suburb of London, by rendering its crescents, streets, and squares—the admiration of strangers, and in architectural taste and elegance far excelling anything London could show—into a mere table, on which to record the names of London localities and English nobility."

To check "Scottish deterioration," and prevent "the intellect of her people being unlocalised," Mr Burns remarked that the Association for Vindicating Scottish Rights had been formed. That society had "come to nought from its heterogeneous materials," but might "yet produce good fruit." Having prepared the soil, Mr Burns proceeded to sow the seed. At a meeting of the acting committee, held in March 1858, he intimated his desire to procure designs; the competition, he held, should be confined to native artists, and no premium should be offered on a work of patriotism! In the following June his resolution was adopted, and an advertisement was published requesting that designs should be sent to my care at Stirling, prior to the 1st of January 1859. About eighteen designs were received; these, with one or two exceptions, were the work of tyros. The acting committee exhibited the designs in a hall at Stirling, and at a meeting, held on the 13th January, postponed adjudication till the 1st of February. An accomplished

artist had, some months before, intimated that he was preparing a design to be submitted in competition, and had lately reported that it would not be completed for several weeks. Of the character of that design I was not uninformed, and it seemed sufficiently ingenious to claim consideration. It was understood to represent a Runic cross one hundred feet in height, having at the base a figure of King Robert the Bruce seated in kingly dignity, with other Scottish heroes on his right and left. Contrary to my expectation, this design was reserved for the Royal Scottish Academy, and in its place was sent to Stirling the model of a lion treading upon a typhon. On the 1st of February the committee again met. Two gentlemen, who usually attended to prevent mischief, missed the train at Edinburgh, but seven members were present, and I was so entirely satisfied that the "Lion and Typhon" model would not be chosen, that I opposed a motion for delay. Mr Burns triumphed for a time; the model intended to represent Scotland as a lion throttling "the English monster" was adopted by a majority of one.

Dissatisfaction was universal.* The inhabitants of

* I am profoundly vexed to revive this episode, but as it is the key to my life-history, for nearly twenty years, I may not ignore it. Of the numerous letters of remonstrance—addressed to myself personally, and published in the newspapers—the most exhaustive in argument, and the most amusing in detail, was one from Mr William Stirling of Keir, M.P., now Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart. From that letter I append a few extracts :

"The committee being entrusted with the building of a house, present their constituents with a chimney-piece ornament or a paper weight. . . . The chosen design, being utterly inappropriate to the site, is happily so small, that it will be

Stirling, at a public meeting, resolved to entreat the Hon. Charles Baillie, Lord Advocate, and convener of the acting committee, to call a meeting of committee to reconsider the decision. The application was acceded to. Meanwhile, Mr Burns was not inactive. On the 11th February he published a long letter upholding the committee's choice, and reflecting upon myself for opposing it. I answered in these terms :

“The question is not one depending between us, but between the majority of the Wallace committee and the Scottish public. So then, though you should satisfactorily establish that I am the most stupid or inconsistent of men, this fact would not in

invisible at the distance of a mile, and will therefore deform but very slightly the noble rock which it is proposed to misuse for its pedestal. By way of producing effect in the landscape round Stirling this lion might just as well be consigned to the lion's den in Stirling Castle. But, supposing the group ever so appropriate to the site and the site ever so advantageous to the group, there remains the important question, ‘How does the composition symbolise the great career and touching story of Wallace?’ We have a comely lion standing upon the body of an ill-favoured king, with thighs twisting and wriggling themselves into serpents, of which the heads form his inconvenient feet. . . . With Dr Rogers I cannot help asking, What do these two figures mean? What does the lion represent? Is he Wallace or is he Scotland? In a monument of Bruce a triumphant lion might be guessed to symbolise the attitude of the Scottish king or the Scottish nation at Bannockburn. But Wallace was notoriously defeated. . . . The well-known British lion is common to the two countries; and when the rights of Scotland are supposed to clash with those of England, it is upon the unicorn, and not upon the lion, that certain chivalrous persons ride forth to battle. But if there be a difficulty about the lion, what are we to make of the monster, typhon, or nondescript? We all know, as Dr Rogers said, that Edward I. was called Longshanks; and Mrs Nickleby, had he fallen in her way, might have spoken of him as Sheepshanks; but why are we to be expected to recognise him as Serpentshanks? . . . Of the taste and propriety of symbolising our old national feuds, under emblems like this lion and snake-limbed puzzle, I supposed, until I saw this group, that there could be but one opinion. Our ancestors who lived nearer the days when the Englishman and the Scot were natural foes, and who might have been more reasonably excused for getting up such images, indulged in no such anti-Anglican exhibitions in marble or brass.”

any degree vindicate or extenuate the unfortunate decision of the four gentlemen who voted for the group. You know that I spoke against it, and voted against it; and, I may add, that since the meeting I have exerted myself to the utmost in preventing its being carried out. . . . I am aware that you desired an adjournment of the meeting at the outset, and I have never concealed this; nor though you voted well at first will this vindicate you in voting wrong afterwards. You are correct in stating that an attempt was made by you to prevent the minority from publicly stating their sentiments; but the attempt, you perceive, has failed."

The acting committee met at Glasgow, early in March; eighteen members were present, including Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., who was invited to preside. The minutes of former meeting having been read, Mr Burns remarked that—

"He had been led to inquire whether the secretary was a member of committee, and entitled to vote. On examining the resolution appointing the committee, he found a list of noblemen and gentlemen; and at the close of that list that Dr Rogers and Mr Galbraith were named joint secretaries. He held that Dr Rogers had never been a member of committee, or he would have been named in the list itself."*

Mr Sheriff Tait remarked that at the meeting held at Stirling on the 24th June 1856 he had proposed me as a member of committee; and that the motion was carried by acclamation. On a vote, four persons only adhered to Mr Burns, while on a further vote the resolution accepting the typhon was rescinded by a majority of ten.

Amidst these details of conflict it is pleasant to

* I quote from the newspaper report.

quote lines, composed by the Hon. Mrs Norton during the prevalence of the controversy :

“ In the full glow of noon—when clear and still
 The sun lies on the hill,
 Brightening the turf where now no warriors bleed,
 But wandering sheep may feed,
 Think ye on sculptured names the eye shall rest ?
 No ! from the distant west,
 From the great Grampians’ ever-during wall
 To Saline’s sloping fall ;
 From wooded Ochils, and that river’s flow
 Where once the o’erwhelmed foe
 (Watched by foiled Surrey from the southern bank)
 Foundered, and fought, and sank,
 To where grey Stirling’s castellated ridge,
 Beyond the fatal bridge,
 Lies like a lion with a bristling mane,
 Conchant upon the plain,
 And Airthrey’s park, and Cambuskenneth’s towers
 (Sacred to calmer hours)—
 All with a thoughtful gaze the eye shall scan,
 For sake of that one man ;
 Peopling with shadowy troops the distant view,
 Reddening, with sanguine hue,
 Green tracks, where Torwood’s leafy oaks once gave
 Shade to the wounded brave,
 While a September sunset, ray by ray,
 Drew final light away
 From the filmed gaze of thousand dying eyes,
 That saw no morn arise.
 On these the mind shall muse and shall not stoop
 To a cold, sculptured group.

Build low, build high,
 A great name cannot die ! ”

The gifted artist, who had prepared the objectionable design, at once withdrew from a conflict into which he had been unhappily drawn. By the acting committee I was authorised to offer a premium of £50 for the best design, and £25 for the second, and to exhibit such designs as might be offered in Edin-

burgh, Glasgow, and Stirling, two weeks in each place. It was also arranged that no decision on the merits should be given, unless twelve members of committee were present.

Up to the close of the extended period of competition in June ninety designs were sent to me. Each was denoted by a motto, and accompanied with a sealed note. The acting committee met at Glasgow in August to select. A design, bearing the motto "Nothing on earth remains but fame," was awarded the first prize; the author was found to be Mr John Thomas Rothead, architect, Glasgow. The second premium was awarded to Messrs Peddie & Kinnear, architects, Edinburgh.

The design which obtained the first prize was recommended as the most appropriate at the several exhibitions; Mr Burns, at the opening of proceedings at the August meeting, remarked that it was ineligible, on account of being tinted with colour contrary to the articles of competition. I removed the objectionable copy, substituting a duplicate, by which it was accompanied. For three months the committee adjourned, to ascertain whether their judgment was approved. At a meeting held on the 29th November, Mr Burns again insisted that the prize design was ineligible, as the China ink, by which it was shaded, was impure. As the other members failed to appreciate the validity of the objection, the design was finally chosen.

In preparing his design, the artist had adopted a suggestion of Mr Stirling of Keir, in a letter addressed by that gentleman to the Lord Advocate, on the 29th of January. Mr Stirling suggested a stately tower of the period to which Wallace belonged, with a screw staircase at one of the angles, and a niche for a statue of the hero at another. The design from which the monument has been built represents a Scottish baronial tower, 220 feet in height and 36 feet square at base. On the east side is attached the keeper's lodge, a massive structure of two stories, separated from the monument by an open courtyard, which is entered by an arched gateway, displaying the arms of the hero's family. An arched passage from the courtyard conducts by a flight of steps to an octagonal staircase projecting from the south-west angle, and pierced by arrow-slit apertures. A succession of four halls, arched with stone, are intended to receive works of sculpture or national relics. The apex displays an imperial crown. Mr Burns next maintained that the design was chosen illegally, since the cost of erection must necessarily exceed £5000, the sum named in the articles of competition. At an adjourned meeting, Mr Harvie of Hamilton, a respectable builder, undertook to construct the tower for the amount named. "Could he find security?" inquired Mr Burns. Security was forthcoming. "But the monument," persisted Mr Burns, "would be incomplete without the keeper's house." I under-

took, if required, the responsibility of constructing it. Mr Burns now insisted that the accounts should be inspected ; not the Glasgow accounts, which he had already certified, but those of Stirling. For this purpose a financial committee was constituted, with Mr Burns as convener. The report produced in April confirmed my statement of November that the available fund amounted to £3406, 11s. 4d.

To procure the considerable balance required, so as to accept Mr Harvie's offer, to which he did not pledge himself to adhere longer than a few months, I suggested to the committee at a meeting on the 16th May, that we should appoint itinerant collectors, with a commission of 25 per cent., and transmit copies of the design to promoters of the enterprise abroad. The suggestion was approved, and the terms agreed to. A respectable Glasgow publisher accepted the collectorship.

The importance of raising funds was paramount, so I resolved to occupy my annual furlough in promoting the subscription. Commencing in August, I visited Glasgow, Greenock, Grangemouth, Linlithgow, Perth and Forfar, and various other towns. My labours were occasionally irksome. In a town of Ayrshire I obtained a list from one of the resident clergy: "There is one of my people," he said, "who recently succeeded to a large fortune. Formerly a mechanic, he subscribed a little to every charitable object ; but since he obtained £15,000, he will contribute to no

charity, or help any cause." I ventured to wait on this person, believing that I would arouse his sympathies. I over-estimated my power; he commended Wallace and myself, but "he could not afford a subscription." I called on two partners of a great mining concern in Stirlingshire. One assured me that Wallace was "a myth;" the other that "he was too great a man to be commemorated by a monument." I had prepared twelve reasons for *not contributing* to the fund, which I occasionally quoted by way of jest. Among these were included the "mythical" excuse; the long period that had elapsed; the difficulty of suitably commemorating a patriot; the provincial nature of the site; and the uselessness of all monuments. I fancied I had embraced every possible objection, till a Falkirk solicitor startled me by naming one more; alleging that by building a monument to Wallace *we would reflect unkindly on our ancestors*. During my canvass, I collected £167, 14s. 10d., while I restricted my travelling expenses to the commission voted to collectors.

In November 1860, the fund amounted to about £5000. The committee had not met since May; and in the absence of any public occasion for indulging censures, Mr Burns addressed remonstrances to the convener. From that gentleman, in November, I received a letter in these terms:

"I have intended for some time to write to you regarding the propriety of holding a meeting of the committee if there be any

business which will justify the calling of one. I presume you are aware of THE PROTEST, and generally of the communications which Mr Burns of Glasgow made to me during summer in connection with the complaints which he formerly made regarding the minutes of a certain meeting of committee, while the plans were under consideration. At that time I wrote to him that I would endeavour in the course of the autumn to have some consideration given to the subject, with a view, if possible, of healing differences, and bringing us all to work cordially in support of the object we have at heart. This I would like much to carry out, but I have difficulty in seeing how to set about it, unless there be a meeting for *other* purposes, and not for that alone."

For business purposes it was not essential that the committee should assemble, and I was unwilling to call a meeting till we had sufficient funds to justify an application to the town council of Stirling for leave to commence building. There were other reasons. Since the overturn of the lion and typhon model in March 1859, every meeting had been a scene of contention ; while Mr Burns' oppositions were published widely. On his proposal, it was agreed that to avoid offence, no report of any committee meeting should be sent to the newspapers, without the chairman's authentication. As the meetings were usually prolonged, notices might not be prepared till the evening, and as the chairman resided at a distance, I could not obtain his signature earlier than the following day. In the interval paragraphs appeared in the daily journals celebrating the zeal of Mr Burns, and charging myself with perversity.

Mr Burns continued his protests. On the 31st December 1860 I waited on the convener by request, when I remarked a table covered with papers, all in Mr Burns' handwriting; they had been received since midsummer. Mr Burns' complaints were probably intended to exhaust patience. In a minute of the 29th November 1859 it was recorded that certain letters from a firm of unsuccessful competitors "had been read;" they were not so, said Mr Burns, and he charged me with making a misstatement. I produced letters from gentlemen present at the meeting, certifying that the minute was correct.

With the proceedings of the meeting of the 16th May 1860, Mr Burns was especially dissatisfied. Two additional auditors had been appointed; he objected to them as not being members of committee. An executive committee was appointed to negotiate with the town council of Stirling; such an appointment, he held, was *ultra vires*, being a surrender by the committee of authority, which it could not legally delegate. Above all, Mr Burns objected to the collectors' commission. These objections he embodied in a printed circular, which he despatched to the members on the 9th of January 1861.

The acting committee was summoned to meet at Glasgow about the end of January. In order to excite public interest, I secured the attendance of Lord Jerviswoode, the convener; the Lord Provost of Glasgow; Sir James Anderson, M.P.; and other

leading persons. My purpose failed. Mr Burns spoke two hours "in impeachment of the secretary." Before he had concluded, most of the members had retired; and Lord Jerviswoode, who presided, suggested that I should not be called on to reply. Mr Burns' name was added to the list of auditors. Next morning a paragraph appeared in the daily journals, setting forth that Mr Burns had "impeached" the secretary, but omitting to notice that the impeachment had been ignored. The report proved mischievous. Mr William Patrick of Roughwood,* an opulent Ayrshire landowner, had sent me a cheque for £600, and afterwards promised to make up the amount to £1000, if £400 were raised by the committee within the next four months. With a view to arranging a canvass for this sum, I had advised the January meeting; but the subsequent publication of differences not only paralysed the subscription generally, but Mr Patrick declined to add to his contribution.

Appointed an auditor, Mr Burns hastened to Stirling. He proposed that the auditors should meet to inspect the accounts, but that I should be *absent*. The proposal was rejected; and the other auditors expressing themselves satisfied, Mr Burns was allowed, in my presence, to inspect the vouchers himself. For several evenings he narrowly examined

* Mr Patrick erected, in 1855, on Barnweill Hill, near Kilmarnock, a monument to Wallace, at his own expense. See "Monuments, etc., in Scotland," printed for the Grampian Club. vol. i., p. 366.

the numerous letters and receipts, while I sat near, watching his procedure. When the scrutiny was completed, he framed a statement bearing that the auditors had not *detected* any inaccuracy. The auditors insisted that the certification should proceed in the usual manner; Mr Burns protested. Our energetic collector had raised in London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns, £400 beyond his commission. Through his instrumentality I calculated that the entire sum required to complete the monument would be procured in the course of a year. Mr Burns was dissatisfied. The collector, he remarked, had profited unreasonably, and was objectionable otherwise. These strictures appeared in the *Glasgow Morning Journal*, a new daily journal; which, if Mr Burns was not concerned in conducting, re-echoed his sentiments with singular exactitude. Though assured at its office that the *Journal* "only meant to crush Dr Rogers," the collector dreaded that the censures dealt out so freely might prove injurious to himself, and so relinquished his office.

Mr Burns next directed attention to the sources of subscription abroad. From the outset, we had been largely indebted to patriotic Scotsmen in the colonies; and at the meeting on the 16th May I was authorised to "despatch packages of the drawings and circulars to promoters of the enterprise abroad." Three hundred copies of the design had been lithographed in London, at a cost of £100, but these

copies were soon exhausted, and they had involved a heavy postage. I therefore got a small engraving prepared, accompanied by a letter-press description, of which I transmitted two thousand copies to influential Scotsmen throughout the world. Of these new prints, the cost was £34, but Mr Burns not only objected to the charge, but accused me both in committee and in the *Morning Journal* of having issued the engravings for my personal benefit! I had "circulated," he said, "two thousand pamphlets which were otherwise unsaleable."

This was a minor charge. Mr Burns was satisfied that "I had not accounted fully for the money received from abroad;" so he remarked to his co-auditors, one of whom, ten years afterwards, acquainted me with the circumstance. "In consequence," stated my informant, "I wrote to all the gentlemen who had remitted to you, and in every instance you were found correct. I most deeply regret that I engaged in this business." The fund, of course, suffered.

In the secretaryship I had been associated with the town-clerk depute, but as "acting secretary" had discharged all the duties. Unwilling to be personally serviceable to Mr Burns, my colleague tendered his resignation. He resigned in December 1860, and Mr Burns proposed that no important business should be transacted till a successor was appointed. His stepson was willing to accept the post, but this

gentleman was held too nearly related to him to work well with me, so another was proposed. The individual elected, Mr Ebenezer Morrison, a young solicitor at Stirling, undertook to act gratuitously.

Mr Burns issued a pamphlet entitled "What's in a Name?"* In this publication England was attacked with former acerbity; she had "robbed and insulted" Scotland "deliberately, systematically, and pertinaciously." Lord Palmerston was set upon. Lord Brougham was denounced; so were Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright and *Blackwood's Magazine*—all had included Scotland under the name of England. Even the Vindication Society did not escape censure; it had proved "weak and vacillating, when the *name of Scotland* was endangered!"

An "executive committee," appointed on the 16th May, being obnoxious to Mr Burns, was superseded, and its duties entrusted to a sub-committee. Against this new body Mr Burns loudly protested, but he suddenly withdrew his opposition, and agreed to co-operate with its convener. Meanwhile, assuming the committee's functions, he proceeded to Stirling, saw the town-clerk, and consulted with the town council. He reported that the town council would allow operations to be proceeded with only on the sum of £6500 being lodged in bank, or a balance of £1200 being guaranteed.

* What's in a Name? by the Author of Letters from a North Briton to Lord Palmerston. Glasgow, 1861, 12mo.

He became *friendly*. He had in 1859 described the memorial tower as "a sham;" he now approved it cordially. He prepared the bond of guarantee for £1200, required by the town council, and, subscribing it himself, procured the subscriptions of others. To the acting committee in April he produced the bond, reading the preamble; it bore that the subscribers "having no confidence in Dr Rogers," signed it on the express condition that he was excluded from all connection with the building operations. The bond was refused. Mr Burns deposited it with the town-clerk.

Waiting on the subscribers to the bond, all of them assured me that they knew nothing of the alleged preamble. They agreed to subscribe another instrument, prepared under the committee's sanction. Lord Jerviswoode headed the new bond with his guarantee for two hundred pounds.

Further trouble was averted. Mr William Drummond, of Stirling, offered to guarantee the entire amount. As a bond was being prepared by his solicitor, his relatives were informed that I had imposed on him! They knew otherwise, and smiled. Mr Burns insisted that, as his own bond was "lodged," no other might be received; he did not prevail.

Mr Burns now offered his professional services in preparing instruments of agreement between the acting committee and the contractor, and between the committee and the town council. On the 26th

April he reported that all was completed, and he received a vote of thanks, which I supported. Next day it appeared he had excluded my name from both instruments. Lord Jerviswoode instructed that my name should be added on the margins, and counter-signed the entries.

Openly—there was no other way left—Mr Burns next proposed that my name should be excluded from the Building Committee. Why; what had I done? Two gentlemen agreed that somehow I had erred, for they voted with Mr Burns—Mr Mitchell and Mr Dick—but I was placed on the committee by a large majority. Mr Mitchell attended the Building Committee to *protest* against any money being expended in laying the foundation-stone!

The auditors, three Stirling traders, waited upon me: “We will assist you privately, but cannot pass cheques for expenses at the approaching ceremony. We are not menaced; but——” Well, I had a month before me, and a clerk, who worked like a trooper. I soon collected three hundred pounds, which I placed in a strong-box. In my possession it was not amenable either to auditors or an interdict.*

During four weeks I was not much in bed, and circumspection was needed, for two days did not pass without a stratagem. The masonic lodges and others were advertised to assemble in the King’s Park,

* According to Scottish law, funds in a bank may on any pretence be tied up by a prosecutor during the dependence of a suit.

a large enclosure belonging to the Crown; but within a week of the day of meeting, I was informed that unless I paid one hundred pounds to the farmer I could not have the ground; I applied to H.M. Board of Works in London, and obtained a grant of the field. A pavilion was to be built upon the crag for the accommodation of the Duke of Athole, who was to lay the foundation-stone, and for the members of his suite. Four days before the day of celebration, the contractor, who had commenced operations, suddenly abandoned them; he had been informed that he would receive no payment, as the funds were tied up. I prepaid him from my strong-box. He resumed work, but the pavilion was, on the day of celebration, not quite finished.

Abbey Craig occupies a central point, towards which three counties converge — Clackmannan, Stirling, and Perth. The magistrates of each county were informed that I was assembling a multitude without making any provision for their safety, while thousands might be dashed to death from the crag's western front. Several magistrates sent letters; others waited upon me personally. To these gentlemen I explained that the Commander-in-Chief had granted me four hundred soldiers from Stirling Castle to environ the crag, and that I had besides secured one hundred and fifty police officers to maintain order. I would, I added, remunerate all from my strong-box. Many other obstacles were

offered, but each in succession was overcome. I had *careats* lodged with the courts at Edinburgh and Stirling, lest on the day of meeting we should be surprised by an interdict.

On Sunday, the 23d of June, the Rev. Dr Robert Gillan, minister of Inchinnan, conducted a special service in the High Church. Selecting as his text the third verse of Psalm 126, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad," the preacher extolled the virtue of patriotism, and in eloquent terms referred to the religious character of the Scottish hero—evidenced in his bearing with him the Psalms of David as his inseparable companion, his participating in holy ordinances even in the ardour of pursuit, and his beseeching the offices of the Church upon the scaffold. "To-morrow's sun," proceeded the preacher, "will lead us to lay the foundation-stone of a well-deserved, but too tardy public monument to this man, whom Providence raised up at the most critical juncture of our national history; and from yon lofty castle wall the warrior will look down on it, and his arm will be nerved and his countenance lightened, and his heart made strong, as it tells him what moral courage can effect in routing material strength. It will stimulate him—stimulate our beloved isle—stimulate visitors from distant shores to resist and resent every invasion on man's native rights, and every insult to the sanctity of home. It will warn them, too, in

the defeat and slaughter it commemorates, against unsheathing one sword, or pointing one weapon of death, to arrest human progress, or rivet the chains of slavery."

The morning of the 24th was overclouded, but I dreaded *Burns* more than showers. Rumours of interdicts had reached me almost hourly for several days. A little before six o'clock I was startled by a carriage and pair stopping at my residence. I would not have been surprised though it had borne a messenger to arrest me on a charge of murder. As I presented myself, a venerable gentlewoman stepped from the carriage and took my hand. "Lady Cunningham Fairlie!" I exclaimed, "to what good fortune do I owe this early visit?" "It was meet," said her ladyship, "while his country was honouring my ancestor, that one of his kin should take some part in the celebration. I have been at the Abbey Craig, and have laid mortar to the foundation-stone. I have already handed a subscription of £100 to the treasurer, and I will add £100 more for a suitable statue."

General Sir James Maxwell Wallace, her ladyship's brother, called later; he handed me £100 as his subscription, and, to be placed in the monument, the original MS. of the poet Burns' celebrated ode of "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled." It had been sent by the poet to his young landlord, Captain Peter Miller of Dalswinton, by whom it was presented to

the general's brother, the late Mr Robert Wallace of Kelly, M.P.*

From an early hour multitudes poured into the town of Stirling; at mid-day about one hundred thousand persons had congregated, a proportion of whom wore suitable insignia.† No such spectacle had probably ever been witnessed in the locality since the hostile armies of Edward and Bruce assembled at Bannockburn. His Grace the Duke of Athole, accompanied by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, arrived about noon, and at one o'clock, on the discharge of a signal-gun, the procession, headed by General Sir James Maxwell Wallace on horseback, began to move. Extending two miles in length, it included representatives of the principal municipal corporations and nearly two hundred masonic and other lodges. Conspicuous in the line were thirty regiments of volunteers, assembled by permission of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, under command of Colonel Griffith of the Scots Greys. At intervals instrumental bands discoursed martial airs, while national banners, which had

* When Mr Burns' oppositions had become notorious, Sir James Wallace, apprehending that this interesting memorial might never obtain a place of permanent safety, requested that it might be returned to him. Sir James died in 1867; and the precious relic was afterwards sold by auction in London; it brought £12.

† I caused a medal to be struck in honour of the occasion, in gold, silver, and bronze. About thirty thousand were circulated. The medal bears on one side a representation of the monument, with the legend "The National Wallace Monument, founded 24th June 1861;" on the other, "A memorial of gratitude by Scotsmen to the Preserver of their country's independence."

waved at Flodden and other fields, added interest to the spectacle.

The procession reached Abbey Craig (two miles from Stirling) about three o'clock, and soon afterwards the Duke of Athole, Grand Master Mason, and the members of the Grand Lodge took their places at the foundation-stone. Forty bands of music played the air of "Scots wha hae." Profound silence followed when the Rev. Dr Arnot of Edinburgh, chaplain of the Grand Lodge, solemnly invoked the Divine blessing. A crystal vase, containing a history of the undertaking and other documents, was now deposited in a cavity of the stone. The Duke of Athole having completed the ceremonial, the union-jack was hoisted on an adjacent flagstaff, when the booming of twenty-one guns from Stirling Castle announced that the stone was laid. Then followed a loud burst of triumph from the vast multitude which environed the crag and watched the proceedings. Personally, I was overcome with emotion, and in my heart blessed God. Sir Archibald Alison, who presided, ascended a rostrum, attended by four sword-bearers. He said :

"While I am now speaking, the guns of Stirling Castle announce that the sovereign of the realm, the descendant of King Robert the Bruce, has given her cordial assent to this movement. The Duke of Cambridge, in the name of the army, has presented to the meeting the sword of Sir William Wallace ; Lord Elgin, the lineal descendant of Robert the Bruce, has sent the sword of that noble sovereign ; and the Duke of Montrose, the lord-lieutenant of the county, has sent the sword of his illustrious

ancestor, Sir John the Græme.* The highest in rank, the first in station, have combined in this great movement; and more striking still is the proof which this movement gives of the universal and deep sense of gratitude and admiration in which the services of Wallace to his country are now held after the lapse of six hundred years by his grateful countrymen; upwards of 25,000 men in uniform have assembled from all parts of Scotland to do honour to his memory."

Proposing a vote of thanks to the subscribers, Mr Sheriff Glassford Bell spoke as follows :

"Shall I ask whether any progress of civilisation, any change of time and circumstances, has made it necessary for us to blot out the grand heroic annals of our native land? Would England—would Ireland—do so? True, we are not now separate, but a united kingdom. True, we have all reaped great gain from that good and holy alliance. May it be indissoluble! But because a gallant bridegroom leads a fair bride to the altar, does it therefore follow that all reminiscences of the early days of each are to cease,—all looking back upon their childhood's home, all grateful recollection of the lessons which were there taught, and the characters which there were formed? No! The very ancestral feuds which may at one time have divided the families, make the union the sweeter now. Blood is stronger than water; and if either individual or national character be worth a farthing, it is not to be annihilated by any union—the multitudinous seas will not wash it out. As well might we be told that we should cease to take delight in the great features of our national scenery as that we should cease to cultivate the recollection of the great incidents of our national history. We are all proud of the name of Briton; it is a name common to both Englishmen and Scotsmen; but the Englishman would not be the man he is if he could ever forget the glories of old England, -

* Two other interesting swords were carried in the procession; that of Sir Richard Lundin, used by him at the battle of Stirling, and sent from Drummond Castle by Lady Willoughby d'Eresby; and the sword of the "Black Douglas" from Tillichewan Castle, sent by William Campbell, Esq.

and the Scotsman would be but a base descendant of those who bled with Wallace, and conquered with Bruce, if he did not thrill with an emotion at their names which no Englishman can ever know. Scotland and England now stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder—

“ ‘ The Percy and the Douglas both together
Are confident against the world in arms.’ ”

Proposing a vote of congratulation to the members of the Wallace family, I used these words :

“ Among the descendants of our hero, I may not omit to mention Mr John Tait, sheriff of this county, and his brother, the Right Rev. Crawford Tait, Bishop of London. Edward of England in the day of his proud arrogance did not dream that a descendant of him whom he unlawfully pronounced traitor and rebel, and slaughtered at Smithfield, would wear the bishop's mitre in his own capital. . . . The Baillies of Jerviswoode are descendants of William Wallace. Lord Canning, Viceroy of India, is descended from the patriot governor of Scotland. The blood of Wallace has been united with that of Bentinck, and the Duke of Portland is one of the hero's representatives. The Earl of Moray, one of the first subscribers to the monument, claims descent from the knight of Elderslie. . . . In connection with his monument, could the great chief have desired other that a Bruce to inaugurate the enterprise ; other to lay the foundation-stone than a Murray, the ducal representative of that Andrew Murray with whom he was associated in the government of Scotland ? . . . Well may the British Government recognise the proceedings of this day, for we are celebrating the memory of a chief who made Scotland a nation, placed a new dynasty on the English throne, and under Providence was the means of uniting the two kingdoms on equal terms and with equal rights.

“ ‘ Had Wallace fought for Greece of old,
His urn had been of beaten gold ;
The children of his native land
Had hewn for him with cunning hand
A mountain for a monument.’ ”



ABBEY CRAIG AND THE WALLACE MONUMENT.

Abbey Craig, on which the Wallace Monument stands, is a wooded eminence in the vale of Stirling, presenting a bold and precipitous front towards the south-west. Around is a scene of picturesque beauty and ennobling association. A fertile valley is guarded on the north and south by undulating hill-ridges and pastoral slopes, and bounded on the distant west by the great mountains of Ben Lomond and Ben Ledi. In the union of hill and dale, wood and water, ancient ruin and modern villa, generous culture and picturesque sterility, the scene beneath is singularly enchanting. On the sloping base of the Ochils is Airthrey Castle, with its fine park and lake; Bridge of Allan nestling under its wooded heights, and "the lofty brow of ancient Keir," celebrated by a poet as the most poetical of Scottish country-seats. On a peninsula, formed by the windings of the Forth, stands the hoary tower of Cambuskenneth, rejoicing in its seven centuries of age. Southward are the plains of Bannockburn and the rock of Stirling, crowned by its historic fortress. In this locality Scottish liberties were maintained on many a bloody field. At Airthrey the Scots gained supremacy over the oppressing Picts; on the field of Corntown the invading army of Surrey was repulsed and prostrated; at Bannockburn the chain of oppression was snapped asunder; on a bloody day at Sheriffmuir terminated the first attempt of the House of Stewart to regain a

sceptre forfeited by crime. The monument occupies the highest point of the rock, which rises to a height of 360 feet above the plain. The site of an ancient fort, it was occupied by Wallace and his chiefs on the 11th September 1297, when he surveyed the legions of England defiling by Stirling Bridge in their path to ruin.

The proceedings of the 24th of June 1861, were appropriately terminated by a banquet in the Corn Exchange hall. Sir Archibald Alison,* who presided, spoke as follows :

“Figure in imagination the scene we have this day witnessed. Recall to mind the Abbey Craig which still looks down on the scene of our hero’s greatest triumph, studded with ardent and grateful patriots. Recollect the scene, the most beautiful in Europe, which the plain of Stirling, watered by the windings of the Forth, and shut in by the mountains, ‘the native guardians of the land,’ presents, and compare it in imagination with what the same scene exhibited six hundred years ago, when the troops of Wallace rushed down with terrible force on the legions of Edward, which had crossed the river, and the waters of the Forth ran red with English blood ! What has occasioned the wonderful and blessed change ? What has turned the scene of slaughter and desolation into the abode of peace and happiness, and caused the shepherd’s reed to be now alone heard on those plains which formerly rung with the trumpet of war ? What, but the heroism of Wallace and the devotion of his followers which compensated for all the disadvantages of number and

* As I shall not again have occasion to refer to this true patriot and most amiable man, as well as distinguished writer, I must at least, in a note, express my indebtedness to him throughout the entire period of my active connection with the monument enterprise. I had much intercourse with him, and always found him most courteous and serviceable. Sir Archibald died on the 23d May 1867, at the age of seventy-five.

discipline, and by the spirit they infused into Robert Bruce, finally affected the deliverance of their country ?

‘ For his lance was not shivered on helmet or shield,
And his sword which seemed fit for archangel to wield,
Was light in his terrible hand.’

“ But Wallace was not only a stalwart knight, a splendid paladin ; he was also a great general, a consummate commander, else he never could with forces not a fifth part of those to which he was opposed, and in the midst of a divided and broken people, have achieved the deliverance of his country in a single campaign, and driven the armies of England, ruined and dispersed, from the rock of Stirling across the Tweed. It is the best proof of his generalship that the manœuvre by which he effected this victory, allowing half of the enemy’s forces to cross the river, and then assailing them before the other half could get across, was exactly the same as that by which one of the greatest masters in the art of war, the Archduke Charles, five hundred years after defeated Napoleon on the banks of the Danube, on the field of Aspern. What mind can now conceive, what tongue can now portray the blessings which their heroic stand have conferred not merely on their own country, but evidently on their powerful and their hostile neighbours, and upon the united British empire ! It has given us the inestimable blessing of independence—that blessing the greatest which man can enjoy, which must be taken, and cannot be given. It has done more, it has given union, strength, and happiness to the whole British empire ; for by preventing the subjugation by force, it has left room for the union by inclination. It is thus, and thus alone, that the pacification of Great Britain could have been rendered complete, and the empire raised to the exalted destinies designed for it by Providence. The Scots are proverbially a proud people ; and it is no wonder they are so ; for they are almost the only people in modern Europe who have never been conquered. Other nations have been repeatedly subdued, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, the Goths, the Saracens, have overrun their territories and enslaved their inhabitants ; but though often pierced to the heart, the Scots have

never been permanently subdued ; and within a few miles of this place the mountain barrier of the Grampians tells us, that beyond them the foot of the invader has never penetrated ; that the language of their inhabitants—the lasting mark of conquest, has never been changed, and that their hoary summits saw the eagle of the legions equally with the standards of the Plantagenet, roll back.”

In proposing the toast of “Scottish Nationality” Mr James Dodds of London referred to an erroneous notion propagated by some alleged friends of the movement, that Englishmen regarded Scotland with contempt. He said :

“Let me speak as a witness. I have resided fourteen years in England, and during that time have come into contact with Englishmen of all classes, and from all parts of the country, and the conversation has frequently turned upon Scotland. Endeavouring to tax my memory, I do not remember any of them evincing the least jealousy or dislike of Scotland, but on the contrary, many of them have spoken kindly, appreciatingly often, even enthusiastically, both of the country and the people. Instead of slighting or sneering at its nationality, the educated and thoughtful among them see in this nationality Scotland’s strength and inspiration, and know that from this source England derives the advantage of the many enterprising traders, of the many brave and chivalrous soldiers, whom our country sends forth to the service and benefit of the empire. . . . Scottish nationality is not weakness, not jealousy, not dissension, but one of the main pillars and supports of the whole British empire.”

In proposing the toast of the “Wallace Monument Committee” the Rev. Dr Gillan referred to my own services in these words :

“I hope the soldiers will not feel themselves overlooked or passed by if I take their exertions under the colour of their

leader. I speak of my friend Dr Rogers, royal chaplain of the Castle of Stirling. Sir, I learn from various statistics here, facts which perhaps neither you nor any one of the company know anything about, but which you will be all the better of being acquainted with; and they shall not be dry, like other statistics, but most entertaining—the postages of Dr Rogers' letters and circulars for the Wallace monument have amounted for the last five years to £160, and, deducting circulars, he has written about 20,000 letters during that period. Allowing upon an average ten minutes for each, the time amounts to 3333 hours, or, at the rate of eight hours a day, $83\frac{1}{2}$ days per year during these five years. This is what he has submitted to for the sake of that cause which has assembled us here to-day—and, along with other members of the committee, he has visited on behalf of the monument during that time about thirty places in Scotland and the principal towns in England, and he has been drawn during that period into ten controversies. . . . He has been called all manner of names except good ones, everything but a patriot, everything but disinterested, and yet he has withstood and overcome.”

The other speakers at the banquet included Sir James Stuart Menteth, Bart. ; Sir James Maxwell Wallace ; Colonel, now Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. ; Professor Blackie ; Mr Sheriff Glassford Bell ; Mr Sheriff Tait ; and Mr Henry Inglis of Torsonce.

CHAPTER VI.

PATRIOTISM AND ITS PENALTIES—*continued.*

“ Non fit sine periculo facinus magnum et memorabile.”

—*Terence.*

IN the autumn of 1860, the proprietorship of the *Stirling Observer* newspaper was sold by Mr Ebenezer Johnstone, a respected burgess of the place, to a gentleman from the West of Scotland, who employed as his reporter and editor Mr James Manners from Glasgow. Mr Manners had a few months previously been connected with the editorial staff of another journal at Stirling, a Conservative organ. He now espoused Liberal sentiments, and became most friendly to Mr Burns. In the *Observer* of Thursday, 27th June 1861, he informed his readers that “the monument movement was originated at a meeting held at Glasgow on the 1st May 1856, under the presidentship of Mr Burns!” A similar statement was embodied in the report of the proceedings of the 24th June in the Glasgow *North British Mail*; of that journal Mr Manners is now a sub-editor. The Glasgow *Morning Journal*, Mr Burns’ special organ, regarded his absence from the ceremonial of the 24th “as an evil

omen," and characterised the proceedings in the following strain :

" Was it not enough that this great patriot was subjected to insult and humiliation in his day of life and battle, that his name and fame must be degraded now when they have become immortal and imperishable ? . . . The Scottish people have never given their heart or their money to this monument, because they know that the movement has been conducted on principles of humbug and imposture from the beginning. It has been used as a mere stalking-horse for hawking unsaleable books and pamphlets, for circulating puffing trade advertisements,* and latterly for plunder in the shape of a 25 per cent. commission on subscriptions. Enough has come to our knowledge, and on the authority of documents which cannot be impugned, to justify much stronger language than we feel inclined to employ. But it seems to us not a little strange that a general committee, on which there are so many sheriffs, and even a Lord of Session, should have winked at practices which could only qualify a professed admirer of Wallace for a charge in the criminal courts. . . . Let them remove all taint of jobbery and charlatanry from the fund, appoint respectable agents to investigate the accounts, and make an appeal to the patriotism of the country for what money may still be necessary. We venture to say that such measures will not be without effect ; but without some new arrangement of this kind, the foundation laid yesterday will never support Mr Rothead's old Scottish Tower, while the members of the general committee may fall at last into the bad odour of having lent their names to a disreputable swindle."

These criticisms might surely not have been inspired by one who, as " a respectable agent," had

* This, I presume, is a hit not against myself, for I was not in trade, but against our worthy treasurer, Mr Peter Drummond, whom Mr Burns had censured in 1858 for including a religious tract in an envelope which contained a subscription receipt.

actually examined the accounts, and had reported that he could find nothing wrong !

A stirring occurrence took place at the banquet following the celebration. A person who at the Abbey Craig in the morning had procured admission among the speakers and members of the Grand Lodge, by producing a card marked "not transferable," and bearing Mr Burns' name, also presented himself at the banquet. When I rose to speak, he expressed disapprobation so lustily, that, as a disturber of meeting, he was removed by the constabulary and committed to a police cell. Next morning he was released on discharging a penalty imposed upon him by the magistrate.

A few days after the ceremonial I received two communications—a letter of congratulation in which the Duke of Athole, as Grand Master Mason, "gave me the palm ;" and a letter from Lord Jerviswoode intimating that Mr Burns was dissatisfied, and insisted that the acting committee should be convened. I had accomplished the laying of the foundation-stone amidst opposition without any parallel ; and by the Building Committee, to whom I presented an account, my proceedings had been approved. But when Lord Jerviswoode informed me that Mr Burns was again in the field, I expressed a resolution not to meet him. His attacks had caused me violent emotion, and occasionally prostrated me, while after every recent meeting with him I had in certain

newspapers been grossly misrepresented. So on the 4th July I communicated with Lord Jerviswoode in these terms :

“DEAR LORD JERVISWOODE,—I now beg to tender my resignation as one of the secretaries of the Wallace Monument Committee, and I respectfully request your lordship to intimate the same to the meeting of the acting committee on Monday. My sole reason for resigning is that I cannot, on account of the state of my health, longer encounter the persevering opposition to which I have been subjected by Mr William Burns, writer, 41 West George Street, Glasgow, a member of the committee. My resolution to resign is final; but I beg your lordship to understand that I intend to take a deep interest in the enterprise of rearing a monument to Wallace on the Abbey Craig, till that enterprise is completed.—I have,” etc.

Lord Jerviswoode, from whom I had experienced uniform courtesy, urged me to reconsider my resolution; but I not only dreaded the attacks of one so strangely persistent, but felt strongly that so long as the secretary was publicly subjected to attack, so long the flow of subscriptions would be retarded. Besides, the success of the recent demonstration, and the interest which it had excited, would, I felt, if energetically followed up, tend to the early collection of the desiderated balance. So long as Mr Burns was at hand ready to misconstrue all I attempted or did, collecting was impossible. By my private friends I was urged to retire permanently, but in the light of subsequent events I feel that I would have been molested still. As it was, I felt bound to make some attempt to raise at least

£1200, the amount of Mr William Drummond's guarantee.

Having resolved to avoid Mr Burns for the future, I consulted as to what course might be pursued, and it was suggested that I might institute an auxiliary or supplemental committee, as had been done in completing the Scott monument at Edinburgh. After corresponding with some friendly persons, I convened a meeting at Stirling on the 17th July, when the late Mr William Pagan of Clayton presided, and a supplemental committee, consisting of thirty persons, was constituted. Among those who joined this committee were General Sir James Maxwell Wallace ; Sir James Stuart Menteth, Bart. ; Sir James Colquhoun, Bart. of Luss ; Sir Michael Bruce, Bart. of Stenhouse ; Lieutenant-General Sir Hope Grant ; and Colonels William Nicol and James Glencairn Burns, sons of the poet. That we might not appear to supersede the original or acting committee, we stated in a printed circular that we sought to raise £3000 to meet the extra cost of the monument, and provide a statue of the hero.

Appointed secretary, with an allowance for salaries of £150, I at once commenced work. Having printed a report of the proceedings of the 24th of June, I despatched copies, accompanied with circular letters, to those likely to aid the subscription. To the office-bearers of Scottish and St Andrew's Societies, throughout the kingdom and in the colonies,

I appealed strongly. I placed collecting-boxes in public places at Stirling and elsewhere; and held public meetings at Hamilton, Alva, Tillicoultry, and other towns. Having secured a respectable coadjutor, the proprietor of a Scottish newspaper, I began to prepare for a tour, on behalf of the fund, on the opposite shores of the Atlantic.

Meanwhile, Mr Burns was not inactive. He obtained a confederate in Mr Ebenezer Morrison, the Stirling procurator, who, in the previous April, had been appointed my unsalaried coadjutor. He was, on Mr Burns' approval, nominated my successor as acting secretary, and during the first year was allowed professional fees, which amounted to £100; he subsequently received a stated salary. Mr Burns obtained a second ally in Mr John Dick, Provost of Stirling. He had been chosen provost in November 1858, on the understanding that he would aid in completing the academy; and as his three years' term of office was about to expire, I had ventured to remind him of his alleged promise. Extremely offended, he threatened me with legal proceedings, and at once attached himself to Mr Burns.

In August I obtained my usual furlough; and resumed, in the towns of Forfarshire that course of personal collecting which I had not completed the previous autumn. For three weeks I canvassed with my usual success in Montrose, Arbroath, and Forfar.

On commencing at Brechin I took up a copy of the *Glasgow Herald* newspaper, when my eye caught an advertisement, which surprised and confounded me. In that advertisement, the acting committee announced that they disapproved the formation of the supplemental committee, held it to be an *incubus*, and requested the Building Committee to ascertain that their treasurer had received all the subscriptions intended for him, while I was individually twitted with accepting a new secretaryship, after "declared inability" to fill the old.*

My collecting was stopped, and I hastened home. At Stirling I found my friends in a state of consternation. - A report had been industriously circulated that I had absconded with the funds! The treasurer having certified that the money was safe, I was waited upon by a deputation, with the offer of friendly co-operation. The Freemason Lodge, *Ancient Stirling*, which had lately, with the other public bodies in the place, awarded me honorary membership, presented me with an address, expressing cordial sympathy, and contributed £5 to the supplemental fund. There was a meeting of burgesses, when it was resolved that the inhabitants generally should be invited to render me their support.

Meanwhile, I complained to the convener of the

* The words I used in resigning the secretaryship of the acting committee were these: "My sole reason for resigning is that I cannot, on account of the state of my health, longer encounter the persevering opposition of Mr William Burns, writer, 41 West George Street, Glasgow, a member of committee."

acting committee that a meeting had been held during my known absence in the country, and without intimation being sent to me ; I offered, at the same time, to retire from both committees, should the proceeding be deemed serviceable to the undertaking.

The supplemental committee met at once, and sent the following minute to the newspapers :

“ NATIONAL WALLACE MONUMENT—SUPPLEMENTAL
COMMITTEE.

“ The supplemental committee, instituted on the 17th day of July 1861, for collecting funds to complete the *National Wallace Monument*, regret to find that, from want of proper explanations, the acting committee should have misapprehended the purpose of their formation. The supplemental committee have no intention to supersede the functions of the original or acting committee ; they are simply desirous of raising funds for the completion of the monument, by a course of separate action. Moneys subscribed to the supplemental committee will, after paying expenses, be devoted to the purpose of thoroughly completing the monument, and *erecting a statue of Wallace in the monument* — towards which latter object Lady Cunningham Fairlie has subscribed £100. The supplemental committee are desirous that the acting committee should meet with the utmost encouragement in the collection of funds ; and subscriptions intended for them, should be addressed to Peter Drummond, Esq., Murray Place, Stirling. Subscriptions intended for the supplemental committee, should be addressed to their secretary, the Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., 10 Viewfield Place, Stirling ; or to James Morrison, Esq., of Livilands, Commercial Bank, Stirling, their treasurer.

“ WILLIAM PAGAN, *Chairman*.

“ CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D., *Secretary*.

“ STIRLING, *August 27, 1861.*”

On receiving my letter, Lord Jerviswoode assembled the acting committee at Edinburgh. There was a respectable attendance, and it was agreed that a conference should be held with the supplemental committee, so as to arrange harmonious action. The conference took place at Glasgow, when Lord Jerviswoode and other leading persons were present. Where there was practically nothing to adjust, business was simple ; it was agreed that both committees should do their best to promote the subscription. But, consequent on the quarrels of the spring and summer, and the wretched manifesto of the 6th of August, the public confidence, temporarily restored by the proceedings of the 24th of June, was most materially shaken.

Early in October, at a meeting held in the Golden Lion Hotel, I was presented, at the hands of the Rev. William Findlay, one of the ministers of the parish, with the following address, subscribed by nearly a thousand persons connected with the burgh :

“ We, your fellow-townsmen, beg to congratulate you on the success of the Wallace movement, and on the gathering of the 24th of June last. We sympathise with you, in your having been assailed—over a period of years—by a member of the acting committee, but we hope you will continue your exertions till the movement has been brought to a successful termination. In doing so we beg to assure you that you will have the good wishes of this community.”

By the supplemental committee it had been agreed at starting that an opportunity should be afforded to

the inhabitants of every parish in Scotland to aid in completing the monument. With that view I transmitted, in September, a circular to all the parish officers, requesting them, on a certain commission, to collect from house to house, and enclosing to each several handbills intimating the intended canvass, to be posted up on the church doors, or other public places. When the officer of the North Church of Stirling, which Mr Dick attended, displayed the committee's handbill on the usual notice board, Mr Dick ordered its removal. This proceeding was at once notified in the Glasgow newspapers; and a paragraph alleging that the provost and magistrates of Stirling had, disgusted with the supplemental committee and myself, instructed their officer to remove the handbill from the doors of the burgh churches, was received at newspaper offices throughout the country. Up to this time parochial returns were received daily; they ceased soon afterwards. The subscription probably suffered to the extent of £2000.

Through a solicitor I remonstrated with Mr Dick on his unjustifiable procedure, when he adopted a course to injure me more decided than any attempt made heretofore. As a garrison chaplain, I was amenable to the Secretary of the War Department; and Mr Dick, in the capacity of chief magistrate of Stirling, despatched to that official the following missive:

“STIRLING, 14th October 1861.

“MY LORD,—I have the honour to solicit your lordship’s attention to the following statement of facts in connection with certain proceedings of the Reverend Charles Rogers, LL.D., chaplain to the garrison, Stirling Castle, in order that your department may take the same into consideration.

“It may be known to your lordship that for some years back the Rev. Dr Rogers has been taking a prominent part in promoting the erection of the National Wallace Monument, now being erected on the Abbey Craig at Stirling, and that he acted as joint-secretary to the Wallace Monument committee. Shortly after the foundation-stone of that monument was laid (24th June 1861), the chaplain of the garrison voluntarily resigned his situation as secretary to the Wallace committee ‘on the ground of his declared inability to continue to fill it,’* and immediately thereafter he formed what he called an ‘auxiliary or supplemental committee,’ with the view, as he alleged, of raising funds to complete the monument, lay out and adorn the ground around it, etc. This ‘supplemental committee’ was, it is believed, almost entirely got up by Dr Rogers himself. He was appointed to act as secretary thereto, at, I believe, a certain salary, and he proceeded to agitate the country by issuing circulars, holding public meetings, and otherwise, with the view of raising funds for the purposes said to be contemplated by the supplemental committee.

“The acting committee of the Wallace Monument felt that such conduct on the part of the Rev. Dr Rogers was calculated to defeat the objects which they had in view, and which he, the said Dr Rogers, had hitherto affected to further. The acting committee, therefore, were called together by the Right Honourable Lord Jerviswoode, their convener, on the 6th day of August last; and on that day resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be inserted in the leading Scottish newspapers, in order that the public might be guarded against sending sub-

* These are the words of the manifesto of the 6th of August, to which Mr Dick and Mr Burns were parties. I never declared my “inability” to act as secretary, but I had asserted my unwillingness longer to encounter, as secretary, the attacks and misrepresentations of Mr Burns.

scriptions to an improper quarter, a copy of which resolutions your lordship will find in a copy of the *Stirling Journal* newspaper, of date August 9, 1861, sent herewith. These resolutions explain themselves, and were adopted, as your lordship will see, in order, if possible, to prevent the undue interference of your chaplain with the Wallace committee, the secretaryship of which he had, as already stated, voluntarily resigned. Notwithstanding that his scheme of raising money was thus publicly denounced, the chaplain continued to persevere in endeavouring to raise money over the country in aid of the supplemental committee; and, as a new method of doing so, he issued circulars to the church-officers or beadles of the parish churches throughout Scotland, appointing them collectors for the 'supplemental fund,' and recommending the said beadles '*to affix the enclosed placard to the door of the parish church,*' i.e., a bill, of which, as well as of said circular, I send a copy herewith. I also send copy of *Stirling Journal* newspaper, of date October 4, 1861, containing copy of said circular and bill, and a statement attached thereto by the editor, of what I, as chief magistrate of this burgh, did in connection therewith.

"A copy of said circular and bill was sent by the Rev. Dr Rogers, or others in his employment, to the beadles of the East, West, and North Churches here; and on Sunday, 29th September last, I found that the said copy of the said bill was affixed to the doors of the said churches, in the place set apart for the proclamations of her Majesty and such other public documents.

"I crave leave here to explain to your lordship that the provost, magistrates, and town council of Stirling for the time being, are the patrons of the said East and West Churches, and that the beadles of the same are appointed by them. The North Church again is held by a number of gentlemen who act as managers, from whose hands, in the course of a certain number of years, the said church passes into those of the provost, magistrates, and town council. The burghal authorities, in the meantime, with a view to the preservation of their prospective rights, have a right of surveillance over the church, and also the appoint-

ment of its minister. The beadle is appointed by the congregation.

“With these explanations as to the rights of the magistrates and town council in connection with the said churches and their officers, I proceed to say that on the Sunday in question, when the said bills were affixed to the doors of the said churches, I, as chief magistrate of the burgh, and one of the patrons of said churches, caused them to be removed, seeing that they had been placed there without any authority whatever, and that they had no official or public character.

“Your lordship will at once notice that in order to protect the parish churches from desecration, and to vindicate the vested rights of the patrons, I had no other course left; because if such a ‘placard’ as the one complained of had been allowed to remain affixed to the doors of the churches, then every class of announcement, moral or immoral, might by precedent have claimed a place on the doors of the parish churches throughout the country, contrary to all law and usage.

“On Monday the 30th September last I received a letter from Mr Andrew Crawford, writer here (which I send herewith), requesting, on behalf of the Rev. Dr Rogers, to know ‘by what authority I had caused the notices to be removed from the doors of the parish churches.’ To that letter I returned an answer on 1st October current, a copy of which will be found in the *Stirling Observer* newspaper, of date 10th October current, sent herewith, declining to give any explanation of my reasons for removing said bills. I was justified in pursuing this course, as from the fact of Mr Crawford being a law agent I had reason to presume that his letter was intended to lead me to give explanations which might have been founded on in a subsequent legal process; and besides, I felt that I was not called upon to give any explanation to a person who had himself, on his own authority, committed a manifestly illegal act, which it was my duty, as chief magistrate, and one of the patrons of the parish, to check.

“I convened a meeting of my brother magistrates on the subject, who approved of my conduct in causing the said bills to be

removed, and circulars were issued directing the beadles of the churches not to allow any such notices to be placed on the church doors in future.*

“I have now to call your lordship’s attention to a letter which appears in the said *Stirling Observer* newspaper, of 10th October current, written and signed by your chaplain, to which I refer you for its terms. Your lordship will observe that Dr Rogers therein presumes to review and condemn my magisterial conduct, *in the execution of my duty*, in connection with this matter; and further refers to my magisterial conduct and position generally, with the view of placing me in a false position with the constituency, for whom I act, as well as with the public at large.

“In these circumstances, I am compelled to lay the whole matter before your lordship and ask redress. I rather ask redress, having in view my public situation and the vindication of its functions, than as a private individual.

“I have confined myself to the matter of the interference with the parish churches by your chaplain; but I may state that, ever since he was placed here, he has not ceased to agitate the country generally, and the town of Stirling in particular, with the view of raising money for various schemes of a most questionable kind, of which he is generally found to be the originator himself. An idea of the extent of his various undertakings, and secular business, may be gathered from the fact that, at this moment, Dr Rogers employs, and has long done so, a clerk to conduct his correspondence; and that he himself, or his said clerk, writes anonymously to various newspapers, advocating certain schemes, in which he, or his said clerk, feel interested. In evidence of the truth of this, I beg to state to your lordship that a series of letters, subscribed ‘Vigilati,’ which appeared, from time to time lately, in the *Stirling Journal*,

* This statement is fictitious. In the Court of Session, Edinburgh, on the 23d July 1863, *Bailie Rankin*, one of the magistrates, and afterwards Provost of Stirling, being solemnly sworn, deponed: “The magistrates did not approve of the provost’s (Dick’s) conduct, in regard to the notices on the church doors. . . . It is not true that the magistrates approved of his conduct in ordering these notices to be taken off the church doors.”

reflecting generally on the conduct of the Wallace committee, and on Mr William Burns, writer in Glasgow, connected therewith, have recently been discovered to be the production of his (Dr Rogers') clerk. In proof of this, I send herewith copy of *Stirling Journal*, of date 27th September last, wherein, in answer to the inquiries of Mr Burns, you will find the editor's statement as to who the author was of these anonymous letters, to which I beg to refer your lordship.*

"Occupying, as I do, the position of chief magistrate of Stirling, I am in a position to know somewhat of the feelings of the town and neighbourhood; and I am aware that public feeling has long since expressed itself disapprovingly of the schemes and conduct of Dr Rogers. On many occasions he has, by the local press and its correspondents, as well as by other organs, been reminded in vain that he ought to discharge more efficiently the sacred and important duties of his office, by confining himself strictly to the discharge of them. He has now attempted to desecrate the parish churches by an illegal act; and has, when checked, interfered with the prerogatives of the magistracy—the patrons and guardians of the Established churches. It is for your lordship to judge what steps should be taken to prevent your chaplain from proceeding further out of his line of duty, or rather to bring him permanently back to it. Removal to another locality, or a more rigorous enforcement of the duties which he is placed here and paid by Her Majesty's Government to discharge, would have, I am satisfied, a salutary effect in preventing the reverend chaplain from interfering with matters in which he has no concern, directly or indirectly. Looking to the course of interference and agitation which he has for years pursued, with the view, chiefly, of obtaining money for the execution of schemes of various kinds, I am led to believe that his removal to another locality might be considered by many as a great boon to the inhabitants of this place. This, as I have

* In the *Stirling Journal* newspaper, in reply to a letter of Mr Burns, my clerk wrote as follows: "If it is meant to be insinuated that Dr Rogers was the real author of the letters signed *Vigilati*, I say there never was a more gross mistake. . . . Dr Rogers never saw the letters until they appeared; they were written by myself, in my own house, and in my own time.—*Stirling*, 8th October 1861."

said, is for your lordship to judge, and I now leave the whole matter in your lordship's hands.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your most obedient servant,

“JOHN DICK.

“*Provost of Stirling.*” *

By this formidable document, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, who presided at the War Office, was doubtless considerably alarmed ; he requested Mr Gleig, the chaplain-general, to investigate the charges. Meanwhile, I was returned to the town council by the votes of the burgesses, and Mr Dick's services as chief magistrate were dispensed with.

By the chaplain-general, who arrived at Stirling on the 5th of November, I was requested to attend a court of inquiry, to be held in the castle two days afterwards. Mr Dick was also summoned ; he attended along with his nephew, a young man, whom he described as “his secretary.” Proceedings were commenced by one of the two officers, who accompanied the chaplain-general, reading Mr Dick's letter of complaint. Respecting its contents, I had not received any previous intimation. Requested to say whether he was prepared to justify what he had written, Mr Dick answered that he was, and added other charges. I had, among other unjustifiable acts, he said, joined the burgh corporation, and, on the morning of that day, been sworn a town councillor.

* This lengthy missive was certainly not prepared by Mr Dick, who being imperfectly educated, was necessarily unfamiliar with that legal phraseology in which it abounds. Containing thirty-five sentences, the legal phrase “said” occurs in it thirteen times.

Voices were heard in the adjoining room, and an orderly announced that the ministers of the parish, and the provost and magistrates, and others, requested an audience. The clergymen and magistrates were admitted; they certified that I was *not obnoxious*; and one of the clergymen averred that, "if the town were polled, for every vote received by Mr Dick, I should obtain an hundred." Every charge brought against me, the court held to be disproved, and Mr Dick offered me his hand; I remarked that I would accept it when he withdrew his charges.

The chaplain-general requested that, on account of the provisions of the Mutiny Act, I should resign my seat in the town council; this I was prepared to do, but the constituency interposed. A public meeting was held; it was resolved to memorialise the War Secretary not to disturb my election. The memorial was subscribed by the burgesses generally, and an answer was received to the effect, that while a commissioned officer was not eligible for a municipal office, my election would not be interfered with.

An attempt to deprive me of my living, I had not anticipated. It was believed the attempt would not be made public, and that a letter from the chief magistrate would induce the authorities at the War Office either to dismiss me from the cure, or to order my removal to the garrison of Fort George, or the camp at Aldershatt.

Through a solicitor I requested Mr Dick to withdraw his imputations, when he appealed to the chaplain-general. A native of and frequent visitor at Stirling, Mr Gleig was willing to shield Mr Dick from the consequences of a legal action; but Sir George Cornwall Lewis, to whom I reported recent occurrences, permitted me to vindicate myself in such manner as I might elect.

The supplemental committee had, in one of its rules, provided that a statement of its finances should be published periodically. In February 1862 I presented an account of its receipts and disbursements in several of the public prints; also in a separate form. This proceeding was attended with renewed misrepresentation. Mr James Manners attacked at Stirling; the *Morning Journal* at Glasgow. It was useless to persevere amidst opposition so persistent; I summoned the committee to meet at Stirling on the 24th of June, when I recommended its dissolution, and offered to meet all demands upon it, though one of them, on the part of a collector (and which he threatened to urge in the Court of Session), amounted to £100 beyond the funds in hand. I also surrendered £20 of the sum which had been allowed me for salaries, which, with a balance of £5, 12s. 2d., I temporarily retained. I am particular in these details, as the subject will again come under notice. The supplemental committee collected a total of £329, 12s. 10d., and in the same space of time—

eleven months—would have raised at least four times that amount, except for the bitter and persistent hostilities directed against its secretary.*

The destruction of the supplemental committee would have satisfied an ordinary rival. This wrecked, I had no means of personally advancing the subscription, while in the collapse of a special movement with which my name was associated, and into the real causes of which the public were unlikely to penetrate, an opportunity was afforded my competitor to point to my inefficiency, and thereafter to prove his own skill. But, as the sequel will show, my personal degradation† was that at which my opponents aimed, and which at all hazards was to be accomplished.

Afraid that I might be driven from the chaplaincy on a future attack, I opened a small printing-office, with a view to my support. Four weeks thereafter a lad in my employment was induced by some one who gave him money, to wait at the residences of

* In the report of the Building Committee issued in September 1869 (see p. 211), Mr Burns seems to take credit for upsetting the supplemental committee. Reporting to the acting committee, he writes, "The matter was taken up by you, and after a time the proceedings of the supplemental committee *were put a stop to.*" The acting committee did not stop these proceedings. With the acting committee, the supplemental committee and its secretary ultimately acted in perfect harmony, and would have done so throughout but for mischievous misrepresentation.

† As the failure of the supplemental fund was not only ascribed to me, but I was charged with otherwise profiting by the movement, I may state that from first to last—that is, from June 1856 to June 1862—I personally received from both committees the sum of £362, 18s., of which, in payments to my assistants and travelling outlays, I expended £213, 18s., leaving a balance for six years' services of about £150. From first to last I raised about £7000; the monument is said to have cost £13,000.

the leading burgesses, intimating, "with my compliments," that "I had failed!" There was "a run" upon me, but I was able to sustain it. The printing business succeeded. To provide additional capital, I sold my library, and rented a less expensive dwelling. Before the expiry of a year I secured extensive premises, fitted up a double-cylinder steam-press, and had twenty persons in my employment. I issued a weekly journal, the *Stirling Gazette*, for which I procured correspondents in every considerable district within a radius of fifty miles, and it was not unacceptable as a vehicle of news.

The ingenious attempt to wreck on the threshold my printing adventure having failed, an effort was put forth to destroy my journal. Mr James Mannors exerted himself vigorously. From his friend, Mr Burns, his mode of attack curiously differed. The latter, in inaugurating a new course of action, issued a publication, in which he prefaced acrimonious censures by commending charity and denouncing detraction. On the other hand, Mr Mannors first dispensed his invectives, and then condemned for want of charity those whom he had abused. In the *Stirling Observer* newspaper, which he then edited, he on the 9th April 1863, described calumny "as the hooded snake of civilised life," and "the glib tongue of the slanderer" as "orbed by the overflow of a bad heart." These illustrations of a wicked vice followed an acrimonious philippic the preceding February,

when in his newspaper he reviled me as “a bouncer” and a “Barnum.” *

With Mr Manners I did not attempt to bandy harsh words, but in answer to a charge of secularism, which he had preferred against me, I thus expressed myself in the *Gazette* of the 4th March :

“I am not in favour of a minister engaging much in secular business. I have long held that a clergyman who cultivated a large glebe, and thus became farmer, was likely to cultivate his fields better than his flock. I consider that a minister should be so endowed or supported by his people as to be beyond the reach of temptation, in respect of engaging in any description of duty apart from his cure. But it is well known that some offices in the Church are attended with meagre emolument. . . . My predecessor in the chaplainship of Stirling Castle, before he succeeded to the second charge of the parish, which he retained with his chaplaincy, eked out his income by teaching a school. The late garrison chaplain at Fort George informed me he would have starved had he not engaged in the *secular* occupation of catching fish. . . .”

Having explained the circumstances under which I became a printer and the proprietor of a newspaper, I proceeded :

“Having consulted two friends in the Church as to whether I should longer retain my position in the garrison, they entreated me not to abandon an office which they did not deem incompatible with printing and with literary pursuits ; and thus, with

* I was not singular in experiencing Mr Manners’ censures. Having been requested by the directors of the Stirling School of Arts to deliver a lecture, in their annual course in 1862, he consented, and availed himself of the occasion to censure some of the directors themselves. His lecture, delivered in the courtroom, Stirling, on the 25th February 1862, was described as “Prose Fiction, with materials for a Stirling novel—the materials to consist chiefly of literary portraits of Stirling lions, big and small.”

a view to rendering myself independent of any false representation which might be followed by summary ejection from my only source of emolument, I entered upon those pursuits, in respect of which I am denounced as a secularist."

Owing to prolonged opposition, my journal, though not lacking general support, proved unremunerative, and, in the hope of experiencing less molestation, I resolved to discontinue it. Accordingly, with the last number, issued on the 17th March 1863, I issued a circular, which contained these words :

"It has been deemed inexpedient to continue the *Stirling Gazette* ; the enterprise was insufficiently supported ; but it has been abandoned with reluctance, for, by its publication, the proprietor sought to advance in the district the cause of social reformation. He has, amidst many drawbacks, maintained the position of his journal for upwards of fourteen months, and has only withdrawn when it would have been worse than useless to persevere. . . . To his supporters he renders his grateful acknowledgments ; and he asks those from whom he has differed on matters of public policy, to forgive any undue warmth with which he may have upheld his views."

Within a brief period the Supplemental Wallace Fund had been wrecked, and my newspaper property destroyed ; but the attempt to oust me from the town council had failed. I was, however, unlikely to be returned to the council, on the expiry of my three years' term of office, if I was believed not to present myself at the board, or take part in its deliberations. I attended every meeting, and, in the proceedings, took a leading part, but in reporting these proceedings in his newspaper, Mr Manners began, in

the month of February 1863, to omit my name not only as a speaker, but from the list of councillors!

The offer to "shake hands," made to me by Mr Dick, was a temporary impulse; he defended the action for libel, which I had raised against him, in the Supreme Court. He got the day of trial postponed, and, in the interval, a principal witness was called abroad. A Stirling trader had been useful to me commercially; he was waited upon before the trial, and offered, in Mr Dick's interest, money for his bond. The proposal was scorned.

For two weeks preceding the trial a relative of Mr Dick daily attended the Supreme Court at Edinburgh, and spoke of me disrespectfully to the barristers, while a newspaper, ridiculing and censuring me, was circulated about the court. The trial for libel was opened on the morning of the 20th July 1863, and continued two days. A relative of the defender busied himself in communicating with the witnesses till, being summoned as a witness himself, his proceedings were restrained. In the court Mr Dick was vigorously defended by a rising barrister, a step-son of Mr Burns.

The libel embraced the imputations in Mr Dick's letter to the War Secretary and the statements made by him at the court of inquiry. The oral charges were not proved.* The letter proved itself, but it

* Several important witnesses were absent, and others failed to remember what had occurred.

was pleaded that I had not lost office, so the jury gave me a verdict, with only nominal damages. This verdict nominally carried costs ; but as one issue of four only had been proved, these were restricted to £150, and I was called on to pay a balance of £400.

My printing business had exhausted my capital, and the loss of £400 menaced a disaster. It was desired to make me a bankrupt, that so my commission might be cancelled ; I anticipated the attempt by resignation. It was accepted in these terms :

“ WAR OFFICE, 19th August 1863.

“ SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for War, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 11th instant, in which you tender the resignation of your appointment as chaplain to the garrison of Stirling Castle ; and in reply, I am to signify to you Earl de Grey’s acceptance of the same.—I have the honour to be, etc.,

J. CROMPTON, *Major-General.*”

To obtain rest and ease I proceeded to Moffat spa, in the county of Dumfries. There I learned that my friends at Stirling and elsewhere were exerting themselves on my behalf. Among these was Captain K——, who had vigorously supported my printing concern, and favoured me with a loan. As he was about to proceed to marine quarters at Portobello, he requested me to refund him £80 he had advanced recently. I begged he would wait till the last week of September, and, in a letter dated Stirling, 28th August, he assented cordially. On the same day, Mr Ebenezer Morrison, secretary of the Wallace Monu-

ment committee, offered him an advance upon his bond. Procuring the instrument, Mr Morrison caused a warrant of distress to be thrust under the door of my unoccupied dwelling, and, at the expiry of six or eight days, procured a *fiat*. With this instrument he hastened to Moffat, and surrounded my lodgings; he probably chose Saturday evening, that I might be detained over the day of rest.

The attempt failed; for I happened to be in Edinburgh. Learning on Monday morning what had occurred, I took refuge in the sanctuary of Holyrood, and next day issued a circular, explaining my circumstances, and expressing a hope that I might yet “owe no man anything.”*

Those to whom I was indebted were my personal friends, and they offered a settlement on my own terms. They allowed me such property as I chose to retain, and at once rejected the offer of Mr John Dick’s nephew to act as law agent on my estate. Captain K——, grieved that I had suffered on his account, handed me his bond, with a further gift of £200.

On the day of my statutory examination in October, as I entered the court with my solicitor, that gentleman was seized by a sheriff-officer, who pronounced him “prisoner.” The capture was effected on a

* Since this circular was issued, I have to some extent realised the hope which it expressed. My creditors were in number ninety-six; of these, I have up to the present time (March 1876) paid fifty-three in full, and thirteen in part. I apportion a part of my income annually to meet these losses, which were thrust upon me.

plea respecting the non-return of some law papers connected with another case; but the step was designed to deprive me of legal counsel, while an Edinburgh barrister was waiting in court, ready to interrogate me. It was a miserable attempt to distress and wound me. The sheriff reported favourably, and in November I was discharged.

The result of the late persecution had been extremely blighting. My printing plant, almost new, was brought to a forced sale, while the benefit of fitting up extensive and convenient premises was lost to me. At the age of thirty-eight I was deprived both of living and estate.

When misfortunes overtook me in September, I removed from Moffat, and took lodgings at Edinburgh. Some days after entering these lodgings the landlady received a newspaper, detailing my embarrassments, and reflecting upon me personally. Removing to other lodgings, a copy of same journal was next day received by my new landlady. This system continued till I entered a small house, and prepaid the rent. In the spring of 1864 I left Edinburgh for Clifton, in Gloucestershire, where I remained six months, not idle indeed, yet having some leisure to recruit. In autumn I rented a house at Lewisham, Kent, where I resided nine years.

I had "removed to another locality," but I was followed still. Copies of a hostile newspaper from the west of Scotland were circulated at Lewisham.

In 1866 a western journal was made to intimate that I had, seized with remorse, committed suicide.

In the same year a London publisher produced a popular edition of my "Familiar Illustrations of Scottish Life," and, to make the work known, advertised it in Scottish newspapers. Soon afterwards he received a copy of the *Stirling Observer*, in which I was charged with having plundered the supplemental fund of the Wallace Monument! I began to correspond with a serial in which literary persons exchange their sentiments concerning things new and old; when in this publication any *note* appeared with my name, the publisher was informed that my communications should be excluded.

These were minor attacks. But in 1866 a systematic effort was put forth to crush me. The circumstances will be detailed subsequently.* In order partially to undo the evil, I communicated with Mr Balgarnie, chartered accountant, Edinburgh, who had acted as trustee on my estate. He replied as follows:

"9 NORTH ST DAVID STREET,
"EDINBURGH, 9th February 1866.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I regret to find that after all you have suffered, both in your feelings and pecuniary affairs, any one should feel inclined to throw suspicion upon your doings and motives. As trustee appointed by your creditors to manage your estate, I can readily testify that nothing I have seen or known of you or your affairs—and my duty required me to make a full inquiry—has warranted me to suspect you in the slightest. From entering upon an extensive printing business, with which

* See Chapter VII.

you had little practical acquaintance, and from other causes, you were unable to pay your just debts; but your losses arose from innocent causes, so far as you were morally concerned; and your moral character, to me, remains unsullied. That the general feeling of your creditors was favourable is evinced by the fact that, without objection, they agreed to a private settlement of your affairs, which enabled you to retain such of your estate as you wished to retain; in particular, the printed sheets and material connected with your tract enterprise.—I am, etc.,

“J. H. BALGARNIE, C.A.”

Returning to Wallace Monument affairs, when I left Stirling in 1863, Mr Burns was substituted in my place as a member of the Building Committee, my name being expunged from both committees. In 1865 the committee, for lack of funds, suspended building operations, and proposed to dispose of the building plant. In a public manifesto Mr Burns ascribed the failure to “sinister influences,” but I had not interfered. Under Mr Burns’ guidance, the committee had recourse to a lottery; they raffled decanters and water-bottles, cruet stands and dressing glasses, mahogany chairs and ladies’ work-boxes, chests of drawers and time-pieces, a horse, a violin, and a double-barrelled gun. By this “prize drawing,” they realised nearly £400; but Scottish patriots blushed. At length the original subscribers doubled or trebled their subscriptions. Moved with shame, Scottish working-men formed associations, and raised funds. Latterly, in the leading journals I entreated my fellow-countrymen to contribute.

In March 1869, the *London Scotsman*, a weekly

journal of the metropolis, announced that Mr Burns was to plead the cause of the Wallace Monument in the galleries of the Scottish Corporation. In arranging this meeting Mr Burns stipulated that my name was to be excluded from the committee; we had not met for eight years, but he had nursed his resentment. On Friday the 19th March he was privileged to address a respectable assembly. When he had concluded, Mr James Rae, seconded by Mr Duncan Murray, moved that "Dr Rogers and Mr Colin Rae Brown, as originators of the enterprise, should, being present, receive a vote of thanks;" the motion was carried by acclamation. Our names were placed on the committee list. Mr Burns was much dissatisfied. In the *North British Mail*, Mr Manners reported the meeting, but ignored the vote of thanks.

The London Committee met a few days afterwards, when I nominated an acting committee to conduct the business; and my friend Mr George Cruikshank offered to etch a representation of the monument for general circulation. By letters and telegrams and copies of a Scottish newspaper sent to our colleagues, it was suggested that Mr Brown and myself should be extruded. The committee, partly amused, partly indignant, resolved to leave quarrels to the bitter north, and strictly to attend to the subscription. I raised nearly £70, and my colleagues about £230. We had obtained more but for Mr Burns' interference.

The monument was opened on the 11th September 1869. At eleven o'clock on the morning of that day, my wife was, at Stirling, presented with my portrait, painted by Mr Fortune of London. There was a large attendance. In reply to an address by Mr Hunter of Blackness, who presided, I said :

“More than thirty years have passed since I first thought of rearing a memorial cairn to our great chief. It was the dream of my childhood; it became the fixed plan of my maturer years. . . . Henceforth, let conflicts cease; personally, I am more than compensated for all I have endured these twelve long years by contemplating the structure which tops the Abbey Craig, and receiving this tribute of your esteem. Through Wallace, Scotland became the ‘land of gallant hearts.’ . . . The Scotland of which we are proud dates from the battle of Stirling. Caledonia was previously the dwelling-place of rude tribes, which, though united under one monarchy, were jealous of, and contended fiercely with, each other. The barons kept the people in servile vassalage; there was no trade, little agriculture, and an entire lack of moral and intellectual culture. . . . A nation was born in a day. Henceforth Scotsmen might struggle with each other in debate, might split straws in controversy, might in argument magnify a mole-hill into a mountain, and indulge in angry recrimination, but they were ever after to be united in resisting the invader, and in rallying round the banner of their common liberties. Some have said that Wallace retarded the union of the two kingdoms. Retarded the union! Why, but for the sword and statesmanship of Wallace a union between the two nations had been impossible. Do men marry their slaves? Do nations unite with those whom they have trodden upon? At the battle of the Forth, Wallace plucked the scourge from the invader’s hand, and made Scotland free. Now, as an enfranchised people, his countrymen could develop their mental and physical resources, and prosecute the arts of life. English monarchs became willing to bestow on Scottish

sovereigns the hands of royal princesses. An intimacy sprang up between the two countries which, although often obscured, did not quite cease till Scotland and England at length became one in an honourable and enduring alliance. I make bold to say that if Scotsmen are possessed of eminent practical qualities, if they are renowned for energy of purpose, unflinching perseverance and sterling integrity, they have derived those distinguishing traits from the conviction that they are an unconquered people, and that it became them to uphold their independence by the exercise and development of manly virtues. And it cannot be doubted that the existence on Scottish soil of a royal court, in constant intercourse with France and England, must have exercised a beneficial influence on the nation, and helped forward civilisation. Had Edward conquered Scotland, the North had been merely hunting-ground for English barons, not a nursery of British heroes. Does England begrudge us these reminiscences? No. Every intelligent native of England, and none more so than our own beloved Queen, respects the sterling qualities of the Scottish character. And Scotland, too, is proud of her alliance with England; every intelligent son of Caledonia is content whether he is styled a Scot, a Briton, or an Englishman. . . . As the offspring of her independence, Scotland has sent to England many who have adorned the bench and senate; many who have led her councils and her armies; many whose skill has extended her commerce, and whose genius has enriched her literature. Not to refer to the past, let us rest our eye only on the present. The son of a Scotsman is first minister of the Crown; the primate of the Church is a Scotsman—the Archbishop of Canterbury was born within a few miles of the Abbey Craig, and is a descendant of the family of that great hero whose monument tops its crest. . Our own Mac-callum More directs the affairs of the Indian empire. A Scottish merchant administers the concerns of the British navy. English law has had no better expounder than Chief-Justice Cockburn. Renfrew did well to return to Parliament that descendant of the Bruce, who so ably presides in the Home Office. That Scotland has produced such men, and would have been capable

of producing them without the self-denying virtues and patriotic ardour of William Wallace, is surely no imperfect justification of our rearing a monument to his memory. . . . I join in congratulating you on the accomplishment of a patriotic object amidst oppositions without a parallel in the history of modern enterprises. . . . I have come to remark the completion of an undertaking, which is the tribute of Scottish hearts to the most illustrious of Scottish patriots—the uplifting of the national testimony against injustice and oppression, whether proceeding from the despot on the throne or the more inglorious oppressor who would scruple not to pierce his neighbour with the nail of Jael or the dagger of Ehud. Our triumph is complete, and we hang the trumpet in the hall, and serenely contemplate the result of our labours. But for the strifes which were unhappily engendered, the work had been finished years ago; it is finished at last, and now that the monument will soon be in the keeping of its permanent custodiers, another link will bind the hearts of Scotsmen to the land of their birth, another altar will be consecrated to the God of nations.”

The proceedings at the Abbey Craig were formal; the monument being, in a few words expressed by the convener, conveyed to its custodiers, the town council of Stirling, and the lieutenants and sheriffs of the adjacent counties, while the chief magistrate of Stirling accepted the trust. Before I left London I learned, through a correspondent of Mr Burns, that if I attempted to speak on the occasion, I should be stopped. It was deemed proper that I should, *in silence*, hear the secretary, Mr Ebenezer Morrison, read the following report : *

“At the first meeting held after the foundation-stone had

* In August 1870 I received a declaration from the late Mr William Rankin, of Stirling, who was a member both of the Building and the Acting Committees, that

been laid, your late secretary, the Rev. Charles Rogers, intimated his resignation of the secretaryship, adding, that it was his intention still to interest himself, though in a different capacity, in completing the monument. His resignation was hardly accepted when the mode in which he intended so to interest himself was disclosed. Circulars and publications of different kinds appeared, as emanating from a body called a 'supplemental committee,' and addressed to gentlemen and public bodies, of all denominations, throughout the kingdom and abroad, while canvassers of different descriptions, including beadles and church-officers in every parish, were appointed, receiving a large percentage on the amount of their collections. The precise object of this supplemental committee has never been clearly understood,* but the effect was most prejudicial. The operations of the Building Committee were forestalled, and they had either to compete with this new committee, or allow it to obtain the funds which were required to carry out your remit. The Building Committee had to abstain from collecting,

this report *was framed by Mr Burns*. Mr Rankin entreated me on the evening preceding the 11th September, when this report was to be read, that I *would not be tempted to speak* at the Abbey Craig, as certain persons were to be there for the purpose of jostling or injuring me, "should I open my mouth." Without giving my authority (as it was communicated to me in confidence at the time), I published in the newspapers, that it had been intended to assail me, and I was ridiculed for my pains; those who did so were probably ignorant of the occurrence at the dinner in the Corn Exchange hall, Stirling, after the laying of the foundation-stone in June 1861 (see p. 180).

* If the writer of the report had thought of examining more particularly my letter, addressed to Lord Jerviswoode, convener of the acting committee, on the 4th July 1861, and which is referred to in the first sentence of his report, he would have been at no loss to understand the cause why I abandoned the secretaryship of the original or acting committee, and formed the supplemental one. In that letter I used these words: "My sole reason for resigning is that I cannot, on account of the state of my health, longer encounter the persevering opposition to which I have been subjected by Mr William Burns, writer, 41 West George Street, Glasgow, a member of the committee." I then add: "I intend to take a deep interest in the enterprise of rearing a monument to Wallace on the Abbey Craig, till that enterprise is completed" (see *supra*, p. 181). I avail myself of this opportunity of stating that I could not have desired more agreeable colleagues than those associated with me in the acting committee, excepting only the two "vindicators of Scottish Rights." The opposition of Mr Dick was temporary and immaterial.

or endeavouring to collect. The matter was taken up by you, the acting committee, and, after a time, the proceedings of this supplemental committee were put a stop to. These had, however, been continued for a considerable period, which was consequently a blank in the way of receiving subscriptions in the proper quarter. The amount collected by this supplemental committee appears, from their cash-book handed over to your treasurer, to have been £329, 12s. 10d., which was entirely spent in salaries and collections, except a sum of £25, 12s. 2d., which, by a memorandum under the hand of the secretary (Dr Rogers), was to have been handed over to you, but has never been so."

Than the author of this report none knew better why the supplemental committee had failed, and none had better means of knowing that "the funds were not entirely spent in salaries and collections." The funds were expended precisely as had been the earlier collections in 1856, with the approbation of Mr Burns himself—that is, in printing circulars and reports, paying postages, and otherwise in defraying the costs of a public movement. And from my previous experiences, as well as the returns from parishes at the commencement of the supplemental committee's operations, I am prepared to affirm that, had Mr Burns not persisted in his oppositions, the new committee would have raised funds sufficient to complete the monument within two or three years. Any moneys which afterwards reached the acting committee from abroad were *certainly obtained through the operations of the supplemental committee*; while I emphatically assert my full belief that the destruction of the supplemental committee lost to the Monument Fund an amount

in thousands equal to that of the hundreds which it had collected.

In referring to the balance of £25, 12s. 2d., the writer suppressed these words contained in the minute-book :

“The above balance of £25, 12s. 2d. I have meanwhile retained, to meet a claim against the supplemental committee by a collector, and likewise the expenses incurred in employing Messrs Lindsay & Paterson, W.S., Edinburgh, in defending an action threatened by him against the committee. On a settlement of the case, the remaining balance will be handed to the treasurer.
C. ROGERS.”

The collector referred to in this note had been employed on a salary, lest Mr Burns should return to the charge of an extravagant percentage. He remained some time in Glasgow, where he collected nothing; he afterwards claimed a year's pay. He had not abandoned his demand in 1869, and he returned to it so lately as 1873. I was disposed to yield to a compromise, but finding that such a course might, in the circumstances, only lead to further difficulty or misrepresentation, I resolved no longer to sustain responsibility.* Finding, in 1873, that the building accounts of the Wallace Monument had been settled, I sent the balance in my hands of £20 (two small accounts in the interval being paid) to the committee at Stirling, for erecting a monument at that place to King Robert the Bruce.

* In reality the collector had already received, as recompense for service, a sum equal to or exceeding the amount of his collections.

Reporting Mr Burns' statement respecting the supplemental fund in September 1869, Mr Manners, in the *Stirling Observer*, charged me with abusive epithets; he described me as a "cut-throat of Scottish nationality," "an extravagant bungler of funds," and "a Judas who deserved the execration of every honest Scotsman." In consequence I sued the proprietor of the *Observer* for libel in the county court, and obtained damages, which, deducting law costs, I divided between the funds of two Scottish monuments.

About fifteen thousand persons visit the monument yearly. In one of the halls, a work composed by Mr Burns "on the Scottish War of Independence" is exhibited to visitors. The author expatiates on what he terms "racial" subjects, meaning thereby the history of races. For the Scots he claims an origin which, he conceives, proves their national superiority. His views may foster prejudice, but, like the monument to Wallace he proposed to construct in 1859, they are unlikely to foment international dissension.

CHAPTER VII.

A MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

Quod est, eo decet uti : et quicquid agas, agere pro viribus."

—*Cicero.*

"Soldiers that carry their lives in their hands should carry the grace of God in their hearts."

—*Baxter.*

WHEN I commenced duty as chaplain of Stirling Castle in 1855, I found the school without a teacher ; six copies of the Bible among three hundred troops ; the garrison reading-room a place of musical instruction, and the library under charge of an aged corporal, and virtually closed. Presbyterian service had been conducted in the chapel at the early hour of nine, but the Holy Communion had never been dispensed. There were no Bible-classes—no meetings for prayer—no secular lectures. In the guard-room, the prison, and the hospital, there was not a single religious book—unless a few tattered copies of the Scriptures in the last. When a patient died in hospital, his remains were deposited, by the parochial authorities, amidst the *débris* of recent mortality, in the overcrowded parish churchyard. The vicinity of the garrison was a species of Gehenna

—the pollution being both physical and moral. Tinkers squatted, and gamesters assembled on an adjacent waste, and, under night-fall, the entire environs were crowded with fallen women.

I devised remedial measures. My efforts in obtaining a new cemetery, and so in checking the insalubrious condition of the locality, have been detailed. When the cemetery was formed, I procured for the garrison a portion of ground for interment purposes. The enclosure of the Valley and Ladies' Rock dispersed gamesters, tinkers, and worthless idlers. The reading-room I got restored to its proper use, and, assisted by some of the officers, had it provided with improving serials and the public journals. The aged librarian retired on a pension, and the management of the library was entrusted to an efficient keeper. I dispensed the Holy Communion twice a year. I obtained a Bible for every soldier, and taught Bible-classes. The Scriptures I expounded publicly, in addition to the usual service.

To another mode of interesting the soldier in Divine truth, I invited the attention of the authorities. I suggested that a short portion of Scripture should be read in every barrack-room before the morning meal, and that the Lord's Prayer should thereafter be repeated kneeling. This daily public acknowledgment of God, by those appointed to defend its liberties, I considered as becoming a Christian nation; and I feel persuaded that a course,

such as I then suggested, will yet be sanctioned by the Crown. There is no practical hindrance, for soldiers are the most attentive of all listeners, and are disposed to respect the ordinances of religion. The Catholic soldier would not object to the Lord's Prayer, while Bible-lessons, for daily reading, might be selected, with the common consent of Catholic and Protestant.

I early satisfied myself that so long as Presbyterian chaplains were placed in the position of being subordinate to a presbyter of the English Church, so long would their suggestions lack authority and weight. I therefore presented a memorial to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, praying that the Assembly would endeavour to secure the superintendence of their own chaplains. I also corresponded with an influential clergyman of the Irish Presbyterian Church, with a view to simultaneous action on the part of the Synod of Ulster. The Irish Presbyterians were agitating already, and my suggestion was, by the General Assembly, entrusted to a committee, by whom the subject was urged upon the Government. Seven years afterwards the General Assembly were allowed the privilege of superintending their own chaplains.

In February 1859, I sought to establish an army training school, with a view to the military and religious education of recruits. Of this institution I prepared an extended prospectus, which was sub-

mitted to a few persons, supposed to be interested in the amelioration of the army. The proposal was favourably received, and one individual, a physician in London, promised that, if the enterprise succeeded, he would bequeath towards its endowment a thousand pounds. The reverend secretary of the Army Scripture Readers' Society at Edinburgh undertook the secretaryship, but as he did not succeed in obtaining general support, the undertaking failed. Oddly enough I was, two years afterwards, presented with a lecture, neatly printed and gilt-edged, which embodied, without acknowledgment, a chief portion of my prospectus !

My army training scheme may be explained. I proposed to erect a building which would contain a public hall, a library room, and hospital, with suitable dormitories, while the inmates were to consist of the sons of deceased soldiers, a preference being given to the children of those who held the Victoria Cross, or were disabled in war. Boys under sixteen, who had joined the army with the view of becoming recruits, were also to be admitted. The instruction was to embrace English reading and grammar, writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, including the principles of fortification, while Bible-classes were to be conducted by the chaplain. The general management was to be vested in a board of guardians, who were to appoint the officials and report to the contributors at an annual meeting.

In 1860 I joined a movement, originated in the garrison, for the suppression of intemperance. We procured efficient lecturers; and from first to last enrolled as abstainers about four hundred persons. For some weeks offences against order entirely ceased, while the upper and lower guard-rooms, which usually contained, on an average, ten defaulters, were untenanted. But the movement waned; in each barrack-room one or more violated the engagement, and others followed. But some remained firm; and four examples of lasting benefit from the movement, which came under my own knowledge, I have pleasure in recording. A sergeant, whose intemperate habits were notorious, was seized with a dangerous ailment, and sent to hospital. Believing he would not recover, I spoke to him seriously. On my advice, he became an abstainer, and, contrary to general expectation, he recovered from his complaint. Within six months I admitted him to the Communion. He was appointed keeper of the coffee-room, and afterwards obtained charge of the library. When I left the garrison, in 1863, he was respected for his sober and upright life. Sergeant M—— I had some time known, as his wife, from a spine affection, had long been bedridden; and I visited her weekly. He was a kindly man, most attentive to his invalid wife, and apparently well-conducted. But his little dwelling was imperfectly furnished, and his surroundings were mean. During

the temperance movement he subscribed the pledge, and thereafter I began to remark an improvement in his belongings. At length his wife informed me as to a happy change. "My husband," she said, "had one great failing; he drank to excess. Only a month ago he was reduced to the rank of corporal; but since he became an abstainer, he has recovered his position; and as I never knew him break his word, I feel sure he will continue sober." So he did; and within three years he became musketry instructor to a militia regiment, with the rank of a commissioned officer, and a salary of £200 a year. When I left Stirling he occupied a well-furnished house, while his wife, obtaining skilful treatment, recovered her health.

A corporal from the West Highlands was noted as a toper, and his wife had for fifteen years lived apart from him. He became an abstainer, and his wife returned to him. I visited them; they became members of the Church, and more earnest Christians I never knew. In the course of pastoral visitation, I called at the house of Sergeant B——. His wife, a superior person, I found in a state of great dejection. Her husband, she said, had long been addicted to intemperance; and she thought of leaving him, and returning to her friends. I asked as to his natural disposition, and as to whether she had reasoned with him; she replied that she had often reproved him, but that, while he did not resent her

speeches, his evil habit continued. "Then," said I, "when he next is in liquor, speak gently to him, and make no allusion to his state; he may be moved by kindness." Three hours afterwards the sergeant and his wife waited upon me—the sergeant desiring to subscribe the pledge. "I have been deeply moved," he said, "by your advice to my wife, and I have come to say, that so long as I continue in the army, I shall not again taste strong liquor." Not long afterwards Sergeant B—— was promoted as colour-sergeant, and when I left the garrison he was occupying a well-furnished dwelling, in the enjoyment of every domestic happiness. He has since been discharged, and when I last heard of him he was holding a lucrative and honourable office.

Such successes compensated for many failures. But I became satisfied that a temperance movement, though partially remedial, would not effect any thorough or extensive reformation. Even in conducting the Sunday services, I was led to think that church attendance was regarded less as a privilege than an obligation. If I proved useful in my pastoral labours, I believe I owed my success mainly to my public addresses and private conversations in hospital and in the barrack-rooms. Every Sunday afternoon I visited the rooms, addressing the inmates conversationally, and handing to each books and tracts. I distributed, on an average, four hundred publications weekly. By soldiers of all creeds, save

those professing Catholicism, the little messengers were received cordially, and I never heard of any of these being abused or lightly spoken of.* On Sunday evenings, in summer, I often found men stretched on the grassy ramparts reading the tracts.

This tract movement, which afterwards attained such considerable proportions, I may, in relation to its origin, explain somewhat particularly. When I resided at Bridge of Allan in 1853, I printed "Tracts for Sunday Schools," and I had long been impressed with the utility of short religious narratives in awakening the careless. On becoming chaplain in 1855, I placed in the different hospital wards, the guard-rooms, and reading-room, some tracts of my own composition, and others politely handed me by Mr Peter Drummond of the Stirling Tract Depot. These I found were generally read; but I was not fully impressed with the decided value of tracts, as a means of evangelising the army, until I was privileged to receive, in 1856, parcels of tracts specially adapted for soldiers, issued under the superintendence of the late Mr Carus Wilson. Mr Wilson's

* I may relate an incident. As I was handing tracts in a barrack-room one Sunday afternoon, a young soldier made some remarks in an undertone, which I supposed were in disapproval of my work. After completing the distribution, I sat near him and asked him to inform me frankly as to his sentiments. He said that, having arrived in the depot the previous evening, he was unaware that I was chaplain, and did not intend to be disrespectful. "Then will you read that tract?" I said, "and call upon me early in the week." He promised, and came, and we had frequent conversations. I gave him a copy of the Scriptures, and various publications. From a course of recklessness he was brought to conduct himself with entire propriety; he obtained a situation of trust, and discharged the duties satisfactorily.

tracts were sent me through the instrumentality of the Army Scripture Readers' Society; but about the year 1860 these were discontinued, while other printed matter, afterwards supplied by the Readers' Society, partook more of a secular character. An incident led me to think of issuing a series, to be entitled "Stirling Castle Tracts." A young soldier of the 79th Regiment, who some time conducted the psalmody in the garrison chapel, was seized with a severe ailment, and sent to hospital. There I frequently visited him and was much struck by his unaffected earnestness. He related to me that, when stationed at Perth, after his enlistment, he had been instrumental in replacing, under her parents' roof, an unhappy female, who had strayed from the paths of virtue. His narrative was so simple and so touching that I jotted it down in his own words, and hoping that it might be serviceable in checking a prevailing evil, gave it to the printer. Published in the form of a tract, the narrative was much sought after, and several of the author's comrades vouched as to its accuracy.

"The Rescue," as the tract was termed, exercised a most beneficial influence. Printing several thousand copies, I despatched packets to other garrisons. My friend, the Rev. Dr Guthrie of Edinburgh, to whom I enclosed a copy, in acknowledging it, added: "I am just going to a prayer-meeting, where I am to make your soldier speak, in place of me, by his

tract." Mrs Wightman, of Shrewsbury, author of "Haste to the Rescue," sought permission to reprint it, remarking, "I have never met with a tract which struck me so much on that subject; it is written with such humility, simplicity, and power, that it must do good, and ought to be given away in thousands."

Thus encouraged, I resolved to persevere in the production of soldiers' tracts, and hence the Stirling Castle series was commenced. The usual difficulties and drawbacks were experienced. Chaplains of other garrisons were not hopeful of benefit, and offered no assistance; garrison help was restricted to a few donations at the outset, and I was informed that the War Department possessed no funds for disseminating such publications. Within a few months I had, in printing, incurred a liability of £10 beyond the amount contributed.

I have reached the summer of 1861. At that time I was closely occupied with Wallace Monument affairs, but in the following winter I resumed the tract movement. I now devised a scheme for producing and circulating tracts on a more extensive basis. The designation of *Stirling Castle Tracts* was of too local a character, and it was, besides, not unlikely to be identified with an older enterprise—the Stirling Tract movement conducted by Mr Drummond. So as a basis, broad and catholic, and admitting of development, I styled my new enterprise "The British Christian Institute;" this continued its

designation so long as I remained at Stirling. I undertook all responsibilities, and obtained the assistance of several well-known writers. I had not much capital to float the undertaking, but as I proposed to produce the tracts by a hand-press in my own printing-office, I felt that it was unnecessary to keep an extensive stock.

The Institute was commenced in January 1862, and the early encouragement, in the receipt of donations and applications for publications, was such, that I started a weekly serial. Styled *The Workman's Friend*,* it combined articles in secular and religious literature. Among the contributors were the Rev. George Gilfillan, the Rev. Dr John G. Macvicar, Rev. Dr John Anderson, the Rev. James Murray, and other esteemed writers. *The Workman's Friend*, being imperfectly supported, was soon discontinued. But it was my personal adventure, and the considerable loss which attended it affected myself only. The Institute made steady progress. During the year 1862 I issued publications to the value of £163, of which a large portion was sent to London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In the spring of 1863 I began to restrict the distribution somewhat more closely to persons connected with the army and navy and mercantile marine. In May of that year I commenced a monthly serial of sixteen

* *The Workman's Friend*: a magazine of instructive and entertaining reading for the people. London : Kent & Co., price fivepence, monthly.

quarto pages, entitled the *Briton*; it was sold for a penny, and consisted of religious papers, original and selected. The more notable contributors were the late Rev. W. F. Havergal, rector of Oakhampton; the Rev. Dr A. S. Paterson of Glasgow; the Rev. Professor Flint, now of the University of Edinburgh; the late Rev. Andrew Crichton of Edinburgh; the late Dr William Beattie of London; Mrs Webb, author of "Naomi;" and Mrs Brown Paterson, author of "Dunallan." The *Briton* was followed by another monthly publication, the *Recorder*, which contained extracts from religious works lately published.

During the summer of 1863 I organised a general subscription. Having secured to the garrison a Scripture reader, who, when I was absent, undertook my duties, I occupied myself three days weekly in recommending the cause in different towns. I had fair success; many gave donations, and others promised annual contributions; and I was hopeful that by appointing a small committee, or a collector in each place, subscriptions would afterwards be procured without cost. At this period I proposed to send the publications where opportunity offered, but to confine the subscription chiefly to Scotland.

The resignation of the chaplaincy in August 1863 changed my plans. Relieved from ministerial duty, I converted my pulpit discourses into tracts, but

mainly occupied myself in a systematic canvass for subscriptions. Instead of three days weekly as before, I canvassed five days each week between the hours of ten and five. In each place I first made myself known to the chief magistrate and one or two of the clergy. Before the month of October 1863, I had, in about eight months, visited nearly every burgh and populous place in Scotland, excepting the northern towns. The wreck of my printing-house in September was more than a discouragement. But I felt that I might not look back.

Leaving Stirling, I settled in Edinburgh, a printer in that city undertaking to produce and despatch the publications. In a pamphlet of sixteen pages, I issued a report of my undertaking, with full details respecting its aims. An extract follows :

“This enterprise, originated in a provincial town, has surmounted greater difficulties than usually attend the inauguration of benevolent undertakings. . . . Since the outbreak of the Crimean war, the moral and physical condition of the British soldier and sailor has occupied a large share of public attention. The readiness and liberality with which the public subscribed to the patriotic fund would indicate the deep interest held by the soldier in the heart of the country, and afford ground for believing that any well-devised and properly-matured scheme for his benefit is likely to meet with support.

“Much has been accomplished to improve his condition. He may enlist for a limited period ; his quarters are improved ; and an order of valour has been instituted, to decorate the humblest private distinguished in the field. On being honourably discharged from the service, soldiers are preferred to situations of trust and emolument. The ordinary scale of pension to dis-

charged soldiers is creditable to the liberality of the nation, while special good service pensions are bestowed on the conspicuously meritorious. In respect of the moral and religious interests of the troops, the number of chaplains has been increased; army schools have been multiplied, and trained teachers appointed. The Soldiers' Friend Society has sent Scripture readers to every part of the world; and the annual allowance by Parliament for the supply of copies of the Scriptures to both branches of the service is supplemented by the Naval and Military Bible Society. . . . The Institute was established in 1862; it has gained support from a portion of the Christian public, to whom its claims have been made known. . . . A short tract, with an inviting title, will be read by those who would neither listen to the counsels of the preacher nor sit down to the perusal of the Scriptures. A multitude of recruits must be drawn towards the more ample sources of spiritual instruction by slow and gentle means. It is the object of the present enterprise to achieve this end. The tracts present the truths of the Gospel in a form so as to attract attention and stimulate inquiry. In the hands of army and navy chaplains and Scripture readers, tracts are invaluable. Without them a military chaplain is as a soldier whose weapons have been lost. . . . Could we effect the conversion of a portion of the army and navy, we should thereby be promoting the cause of missions. A soldier who has become impressed with the saving truths of religion is especially in earnest. In the army there is no place for sentimental religion. The converted soldier is true to his colours, respected by his officers, beloved by his associates; he is 'the little leaven which leaveneth the whole lump;' and among the heathen is as 'a light in a dark place.' . . .

"The tracts consist of short prose extracts from the writings of eminent and evangelical writers, striking narrative sketches, devotional hymns and short prayers, adapted for soldiers and sailors in every variety of condition. . . .

"The annual report will be published in the beginning of January of each year. It will embrace—1. List of donors and

their donations; 2. Abstract of distributions; 3. List of publications; 4. Extracts from communications of distributors; 5. State of accounts. The books of the enterprise are open to the inspection of donors. Copies of the annual report will be placed in the hands of contributors."

Along with this report, I presented a list of contributors, with their addresses. Not long afterwards, a newspaper,* containing a full narrative of my printing-house disaster, accompanied by a leading article hinting that I had unwarrantably profited by the Supplemental Wallace Fund, and was no doubt contemplating similar spoils from the tract movement, was received by the principal subscribers.†

From December 1863 till October 1865 I was chiefly occupied in recommending the enterprise in the different towns of England and Ireland. My mode of procedure was this: I made tours of six or eight weeks consecutively, returning home for periods of two and three weeks to despatch parcels to distributors at the different shipping ports and military stations. I continued to canvass about seven hours daily, devoting the evening to correspondence and tract-writing. In my journeys (which continued about 125 weeks) my chief companions were commercial men; and the intercourse I had with these most intelligent persons proved a pleasant solace. In travelling I dispensed with my clerical attire, and by

* See Chapter VI., *passim*.

† Said a gentleman at Largs to me, in 1866, "I have twice contributed to your cause, and after both occasions I received a newspaper denouncing you."

this mode I was enabled to convey some counsels which might have been less efficacious if proceeding ostensibly from a clergyman. One evening, in a hotel at Portsmouth, a young gentleman from India, relating his experiences, used oaths. Remarking that I was charmed with his descriptions, I added that his expletives marred the pleasantness of his talk. "Why," responded he, with a smile, "this habit of mine was never objected to before; I am sure this gentleman" (referring to a person sitting between us reading a newspaper) "does not object to my manner." The individual appealed to laid down his newspaper, and, looking towards me, said emphatically, "I entirely agree with you, sir; these oaths shock and distress me." The subject dropped, but when next morning I rejoined the traveller in the breakfast-room, he talked without indulging the practice I had reproved.

Travelling by railway from Malvern to Cheltenham, a plain, intelligent-looking man joined me in the carriage; he said he remarked I was a Scotsman, and proceeded to condemn my countrymen for religious intolerance; for his own part, he added, he did not believe in the Scriptures at all. In the hope of being useful to him, I proceeded to adduce the usual arguments in support of revelation. When we reached Cheltenham, the traveller thanked me for what I had said; but added, "Though I cannot answer your arguments, I am still unconvinced." But my labour was

not wholly lost. When I got into the hotel omnibus at Cheltenham, a young man, who had occupied the same compartment in the train, remarked that I had strengthened his faith, and furnished him with arguments which, he felt, would be helpful to him afterwards. He was pleased to add that he "would not forget the conversation."

Travelling by train from Dumfries to Carlisle, a company of three persons entered the carriage and proceeded to hand about tracts. One gentleman declined the tract offered him, but in courteous terms. The three enthusiasts persisted, and, as the gentleman still declined acceptance, one of them laid a tract upon his knee. He politely returned it, whereupon one of the number read, with stentorian voice, a tract, denouncing Divine wrath upon the careless. On arriving at Carlisle I requested the enthusiasts to tarry a little, and opening my portmanteau showed them that I too was a tract distributor. I then said: "Do not repel men from the Gospel, by intruding upon them what they do not want. No tract will be read unless it is cordially received. In attempting to be useful to him, you have confirmed our fellow-passenger in his indifference; he will refer to your incivility as a reason why he should have no concern with Divine things. The tract, too, which you read, was not calculated to attract or edify; men will be drawn to the Gospel, but not driven to it." The enthusiasts thanked me, and,

acknowledging their lack of judgment, promised never again to violate good manners.

Arrayed in my travelling costume, I stopped, in a hotel in Ireland, an argument likely to terminate in a quarrel. The combatants were both Irishmen, and the subject of dispute was as to the cause of the degraded condition of the Irish peasantry. By one it was maintained that the Catholic priests were responsible for the mischief, while the other vigorously asserted that the evil was to be ascribed to Anglican misrule. I ventured to urge that both disputants might be in error, since the Romish priesthood did not discourage industry; while British landlords, who held lands in Ireland, were content to receive for them lower rents than from their English estates. I then enumerated the ordinary causes of social degeneration, and, having led the combatants into a new channel, effected their reconciliation. With a hearty Irish enthusiasm they toasted me as "the great unknown."

In the course of my tour I visited nearly every garrison and military barrack in the kingdom, making arrangements for the circulation of my publications in each. Occasionally the chaplains consented to receive packets; the Scripture readers most frequently; and in many instances officers and private soldiers. I visited the entire English coast, also the coast of Ireland, and secured distributors in each place.

In the summer of 1865 I spent a week at Aldershott, where I experienced a large measure of encouragement. Before the close of that year I had secured distributors at about one hundred and fifty different places at home, and at nearly thirty military stations in the Colonies and in India; also at Constantinople, Beyrout, and China. Prospects of success were indicated in the letters of distributors. A distributor at Portsmouth wrote: "Your tracts are most thankfully accepted by the recruits who frequently come here to join their respective regiments; and it is pleasing to find how much your publications are sought after by our marines." A second distributor at Portsmouth wrote: "I find the tracts very serviceable in prosecuting my labours among soldiers, as they bring me ready access to men who would otherwise be averse to religious conversation. One of the tracts, entitled 'The Narrow Way,' recently enabled me to arrest the attention of at least twenty persons." By a third distributor at Portsmouth I was informed that "the soldiers received them joyfully, and that many were attending places of worship since they received tracts." One of the three distributors at Chatham reported that "the tracts were accomplishing a good work." From Chatham a naval officer communicated that they "were most acceptable." A distributor at Plymouth wrote: "I am thankful that I have had the opportunity of distributing these silent messengers to

soldiers, sailors, watermen, and fallen women ; they have been the means of awakening many." By the distributor at Weymouth, I was informed that "the men were willing to receive them, and that he had known some lay aside a pack of cards to read them." The distributor at Southampton remarked "that he had, within the last six months, visited with tracts 520 English and 28 foreign ships." An officer of the Royal Artillery at Malta, pronounced the publications "the best adapted for soldiers which he had seen ;" and a military chaplain, at Secunderabad, reported that he had found the greatest difficulty in getting tracts in any sense suited to soldiers, and that those sent him were more suitable than any that he had seen.

During the earlier years of the enterprise the tracts were frequently selected from printed works ; they were afterwards written specially for the undertaking. Among the contributors were the Rev. Samuel A. Walker, rector of Mary-le-port, Bristol ; the Rev. George Cuthbert of Oswestry ; Mrs Glyde of Torquay ; Miss Robinson of Guildford ; Dr Mitchell Thomson of Plymouth ; and George W. Mylne, Esq., of Cheltenham. I composed a series on practical subjects — with quaint and attractive titles. Of a tract which I wrote on the terrible inundation at Sheffield, many thousands were distributed in that place. The publications were generally commended. Dr Octavius Winslow held them "as

well suited for distribution among soldiers and sailors ;” while the Rev. Dr Guthrie described them as “touching and pithy and admirable papers.” There were similar testimonies.

Having organised the production and distribution of the publications, I proceeded in the autumn of 1865 to relieve myself of further personal responsibility, by entrusting the administration to a committee. This body consisted of seventeen members, of whom seven were officers in the army and navy, and eight clergymen and ministers of different denominations ; they met at London, on the 27th November 1865, when “The Naval and Military Tract Society” was formed, with the following rules :

“1. The Naval and Military Tract Society has for its object the promotion of vital religion in the army and navy, by the circulation of evangelical publications throughout both services, including the royal marines, militia regiments, arsenal and dockyard employés, and the naval coast guard. 2. The publications shall consist chiefly of tracts ; and these shall be issued under the approval of the managing committee. 3. The publications shall be transmitted for gratuitous circulation to naval and military officers, chaplains, Scripture readers, and others. 4. The business of the Society shall be conducted under the direction of the managing committee, who shall fill up vacancies as they occur. 5. An annual report shall be printed, with a statement of the society’s transactions, together with a list of receipts and disbursements ; which report shall be placed in the hands of every one subscribing five shillings annually.”

To secure the unsectarian character of the issues, a revising committee was named, consisting chiefly

of the clerical members. I was appointed general secretary, without a salary, but with an allowance of £1 weekly for a clerk, and £25 for office rent. As tract publisher I engaged to issue the publications at the same rates of charge as those made by the Religious Tract Society.

The committee of the Society authorised the publication of a quarterly journal, the *British Bulwark*, the first number of which was issued in January 1866, at the price of fourpence. A report, with a list of contributors, was printed for circulation. A Presbyterian minister, from the north of England, was appointed travelling secretary, he having resigned his charge to undertake the duties.

The shadow of the *Lion and Typhon* still pursued me. So long as, without assistance, I struggled to recommend my enterprise, copies of Mr Manners' newspaper attacks, or of the *Glasgow Morning Journal*, despatched to my contributors, were deemed instruments powerful enough to impede my progress. But when, surmounting these attacks, I at length succeeded, after two several journeys throughout the kingdom, in establishing a society, with upwards of one thousand members, and of which the affairs were conducted by a respectable committee, and the funds raised by an experienced collector, it was determined to crush me permanently. A person named Leckie from Glasgow, itinerated the North of England, and stated to the leading members of the Society in

Sheffield, Manchester, and other towns, that I had plundered the Wallace Monument Fund, and been dismissed from my clerical office; that I had fled from Stirling and Edinburgh to avoid my creditors, and that I was otherwise disreputable.* The Society had numerous supporters in the West of England, and there too misrepresentations were propagated. A member of committee, and one of the tract writers, the Rev. Samuel A. Walker of Bristol, received a letter in these terms:

“LONDON, 2d January 1866.

“MY DEAR SIR,—May I ask you whether you know anything of a person *styling himself* the Rev. Dr Rogers, secretary of the Naval and Military Tract Society? Or anything of the society which he has started? I perceive that your name is on the committee, *but it does not follow* that you are identified with the man or his mission.”

The writer of this missive, a Nonconformist minister, occupying a responsible office, did not await the issue of the correspondence he had begun. Under a feigned name he visited my residence at Lewisham, and, in my absence, desired to see specimens of the tracts, which were shown to him. He next communicated with the auditor, president, treasurer, and collector of the Society, to all of whom he hinted that I was an impostor. Excepting the first, all respected his authority, and resigned. In prosecuting hostilities, he was joined by a layman who had lately

* After discharging his mission in England, Leckie proceeded to Ireland, where he gave a false address to my solicitor. He denied all that he had said, and offered to accept employment from myself!

evinced an interest in the Society, and whose deep religious convictions may leave no doubt that, in doing the work of my opponents, he sincerely believed their representations.*

As to the originator of the present attack, I may not hazard any absolute assertion. It was certainly not Mr Dick, for he died the previous April. Some one it clearly was who was conversant with the method of attacking the absent, pursued in August 1861 and in August 1863. Without affording me opportunity of explanation, an advertisement, similar in strain to that which was published in the Scottish newspapers, in August 1861, denouncing the Supplemental Committee, was published in the *Record* newspaper, denouncing the Naval and Military Tract Society. It was reprinted and sent to different central towns, and at these posted under cover to members of the Society. Unaware that these hostilities were in active progress, I offered, through a solicitor, to submit my books and accounts to neutral persons, and "to stand or fall by their decision." This proposal was ignored, so I placed the whole of the papers and accounts connected with the institution since its origin, in the hands of Messrs Quilter, Ball,

* During the prevalence of these hostilities, I found those persons who were more conspicuous for their piety and religious earnestness not always the most charitable. The first of the Christian graces—charity—is often the last which Christians acquire. Experiencing the bitter misrepresentations of the *Record* newspaper, in regard to his mode of conducting *Good Words*, Dr Norman Macleod remarked piquantly, that there is a "sort of evangelical method of abusing, and a conscientious way of destroying a man's character, and making him have the appearance of being evil."

and Co., the eminent accountants, who were also informed as to the cause of inquiry. After a minute examination, Messrs Quilter, Ball, & Co. presented a balance-sheet, harmonising with my own, and accompanied by the following note :

“THE NAVAL AND MILITARY TRACT SOCIETY.

“The annexed summary of receipts and disbursements of Dr Charles Rogers, the secretary, has been prepared by us from the books of the Society presented to us by him. It exhibits a balance in favour of the Society of £47, 11s. 8d., against which there are outstanding liabilities amounting to £53, 6s., consequently leaving a net deficiency of £5, 14s. 4d. The particulars of expenditure, other than that for travelling expenses and tracts distributed, are duly vouched. With regard to the ‘travelling expenses,’ it would appear that Dr Rogers was travelling over England, Scotland, and Ireland for, in all, one hundred weeks; and that during the first portion of the period he charged his expenses as they actually occurred; but, finding that they averaged (including payment of a guide daily) something over £5 per week, he took credit for sums at that rate for the latter portion of the above period. With regard to the item for ‘tracts distributed,’ the acknowledgments from the various recipients are necessarily in general terms, but the printers’ returns and accounts show a larger aggregate quantity produced than that charged for by Dr Rogers against the Society.

“QUILTER, BALL, & Co.”

I now convened a meeting of committee. Several members resigned, and as the others resided at a distance, one only, the Rev. Samuel A. Walker of Bristol, responded to my invitation. After a careful investigation, Mr Walker prepared the report, which is subjoined :

“As regard the collection and appropriation of funds, of course I was not likely to discover any mistake in the calculation of moneys collected in the four years between January 1862 and February 1866 made by the accountants, Messrs Quilter, Ball, & Co. They had had all the same documents before them as those shown to me, as they certify in their report; and therefore I was quite satisfied that the receipts amounted to the two sums referred to by them of £790, 16s. 2d. and £688, 8s. 11d., which together make £1479, 5s. 1d. I had the rough book before me which the doctor carried about with him when travelling to collect funds, and in which he entered the sums received. Each page bears marks of the accountants’ jotting-up, and I did not think it necessary to revise their figures. I therefore took it for granted that the receipts to be accounted for amounted to the sum of £1479, 5s. 1d. The question then was, how had that sum been expended? Keeping the two points referred to in view, I was anxious to learn generally—(1.) How this large sum had been appropriated; and (2.) How far it had gone to the printing and distribution of tracts. I asked especially for accounts furnished by printers, and paid. These were laid before me, from three separate printing establishments, one of which is in Bristol, and well known to me, with the respectable chief proprietor of which I had, on previous occasions, conversations on the subject of Dr Rogers’ tracts, and who left the impression on my mind that they were being printed by his steam-press in vast quantities. Dr Rogers laid before me receipts from this printer—Mr Wright—for payments made for the printing of 240,000 tracts; from another printer—a London one—for the printing of 80,000; and from another, also in London, for the printing of 60,000. These were tracts prepared and printed since Dr Rogers came to England; besides which he has started a monthly serial, *The Bulwark*, price 4d., of which several thousands have been printed. Previous to his arrival from Scotland, but within the four years, he appears to have been largely engaged in printing tracts and serials; of the latter, he showed me specimens of three—*The Workman*, *The Recorder*, and *The Briton*. The cost of these publications, as

entered in a ledger, which I saw, was respectively £146, 5s. 8d., £41, 13s. 4d., and £95, 16s. 8d. The cost of the tracts, as entered in the same book, was £126, 6s. 8d. Altogether, I calculated that the doctor had paid the sum of £629, 16s. 8d. for the production of the various publications, for the circulation of which he had collected the money.* . . .

"Concerning the other items of expense, travelling, advertising, agency, etc., I could not form any decided judgment; disbursements under those heads were sustained by vouchers, as Messrs Quilter & Ball have declared; but of course I could not say how far they were judicious to the extent stated. I have seen, as already observed, the rough books in which Dr Rogers entered the various contributions received, and there I found the names of a large number of *places* in the United Kingdom where collections had been made, all entered in the doctor's handwriting, so that if he visited them all himself, as I believe he did, and remained in each long enough to make personal application to the parties in each, whose names are inserted in his book, I conclude that many months must have been spent in thus journeying from place to place. I know, for example, that he twice visited Bristol in the course of a few months, and if he did the same in other places, I am not at all surprised to learn that he occupied a hundred weeks in his travels. I have some little experience in this sort of locomotion, and I can only say that I consider £5 per week, all things considered, a not unreasonable allowance for travelling expenses. I have heard from commercial travellers that they are generally allowed a guinea a day by their employers for that purpose. . . . I apprehend that he has met these charges in the only way

* The precise issue of publications was as under :

500,000 two-page tracts, issued at 5s. per 1000,	£125	0	0
450,000 four-page „ „ 10s. „ .	225	0	0
35,000 <i>Workman's Friend</i> , at 1d., . . .	145	16	8
10,000 <i>Recorders</i> , at 1d., . . .	41	13	4
40,000 <i>Britons</i> , at 1d., . . .	166	13	4
4,000 <i>British Bulwark</i> , at 3d., . . .	50	0	0
Other publications, to the value of . . .	15	0	0
	£769	3	4

that he could—by submitting his books to public accountants of the well-known character of Messrs Quilter, Ball, and Co., by whom he has been completely supported; by publishing a full explanation of the circumstances preceding and attending the formation of his Tract Society; and by inviting the members of his committee to a full investigation of the Society's past and present transactions. I confess that it is yet to be proved to me that any *mala fides* can be fairly imputed to him—on the contrary, unless something shall turn up to his disadvantage, of which I am at present ignorant, I shall consider it my duty to regard him as a Christian brother, and in my humble way to do what I can to obtain him that justice for his objects and exertions which, I fear, has been dealt to him as yet in scant measure.

SAMUEL A. WALKER."

In a pamphlet entitled "The Issues of Religious Rivalry,"* I included the reports of Mr Walker and of the public auditors, and defended myself against the attack in the *Record* newspaper. I also published a narrative of the hostilities in the *Times* newspaper. But the engendering of suspicion, my Scottish oppressors conceived, would do for the Naval and Military Tract Society what it had done for the Supplemental Wallace Fund. And they were right.

Those to whom I had long been known, and a few others—probably to the extent of one-fourth of the members of the Society—were still willing to support my mission. So I privately established an institution, which I named "The London Book and Tract Depository." Of this institution I presented a report annually, with a balance-sheet, but, to avoid further

* When I published this pamphlet, I was unaware as to real source of the opposition.

attack, omitted the names of contributors. In this way I succeeded in preventing any fresh attack. I carried on the institution till 1874, when increasing engagements compelled me to withdraw from it. The annual receipts varied from £264 to a minimum of £45; the publications were circulated among the contributors, and at the principal seaports and military stations.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMONG THE POETS.

“ Blessings be with them and eternal praise,
Who gave us nobler loves and nobler cares,
The poets, who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays.”

— *Wordsworth.*

EARLY interested in Scottish song and ballad, I afforded some indication of my peculiar bent, by editing the “Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun,” in my eighteenth year. In 1853 I projected “The Modern Scottish Minstrel,” a work in which I proposed to include the more esteemed songs composed since the time of Burns, accompanied with memoirs of the writers. As a first step, I prepared a list of the poets. In this I was assisted by Dr David Irving,* author of the “Lives of the Scottish Poets;” Mr Robert Chambers; Dr Robert Carruthers; Mr Alexander Smith, author of the “Life Drama;” and

* Dr Irving, the most erudite of my early friends, died on the 10th May 1860, in his eighty-second year. I was much indebted to his counsel in matters connected with authorship. His “History of Scottish Poetry,” published posthumously, deserves to be better known; it is a learned and meritorious performance. Dr Irving had associated with many of his eminent contemporaries, and the reminiscences with which he favoured me, while I was preparing the “Minstrel,” were valuable and interesting.

others. Having selected the minstrels to be introduced, I proceeded to visit their haunts, better to inform myself of their history and manners.

With the land of Robert Burns I was not unfamiliar; but I was desirous of ascertaining some particulars of the poet's history from those to whom he was known. At his native cottage, on the banks of the Doon, I visited his sister, Mrs Begg; she was verging on eighty, but retained her faculties in full vigour. She spoke of her brother in terms of deep affection, and she remembered him well, for when he died she was five-and-twenty, and before his removal to Dumfriesshire she saw him constantly. Their father died when she was about twelve, and Robert became head of the house; he took their father's place in conducting household worship, and he instructed her in the Shorter Catechism. "He was as a father to me," said Mrs Begg, "and any knowledge of the Scriptures I had in my youth, I derived from his teaching. His whole conduct in the family," she added, "was becoming and orderly." She did not remember that he ever deviated from the strictest sobriety.

Mrs Begg spoke much of her brother's genius, and expressed surprise that, great as his fame was, his merit was not recognised even more fully. His appearance, she said, was most striking; "his countenance beaming with genius." Remarking that I believed he had a penetrating eye; she said, "He had

dark eyes, and a quick discerning glance, but every feature indicated power and feeling. Most of his engraved portraits, she added, "are incorrect; some bear no resemblance." She regarded Beugo's engraving, and a lithograph by Schenck, as excellent likenesses. The poet's forehead, she said, was high, and his head flat.

With Robert Burns, the poet's eldest son, I got acquainted at Dumfries. He was a considerable scholar, and was fond of speculations in etymology. In formation of head he resembled his father. Between him and the poet there was little resemblance otherwise; for though he composed songs, these were under mediocrity. Being ten years old when his father died, he remembered him distinctly. In the family library were included the works of the principal English poets, and his father encouraged him to read them. But my informant did not know, during his father's lifetime, that he had himself composed verses, and at first could not comprehend what was meant when so many persons after his death spoke to his mother about *the poet*. Burns sought no celebrity in his household.

The poet's two younger sons, Colonels William Nicol and James Glencairn Burns, I met frequently; I latterly visited them at Cheltenham. Colonel James Burns bore a slight resemblance to his father, and he unhappily inherited from him a tendency to rheumatism. Somewhat irascible, he was disposed

to resent the slightest reflection on his father's memory. Colonel William Burns was kindly and benevolent. All the three sons spoke of their father, whom they styled "the bard," with a respect bordering on veneration.

Persons of genius, it is held, inherit their power chiefly from their mothers. In the case of Robert Burns this opinion does not hold good. His sister, Mrs Begg, assured me that the mental qualities of their mother were ordinary. "But our father," she added, "possessed a vigorous intellect, and would unquestionably have made a figure but for incessant poverty. He foresaw the future eminence of my brother Robert; he said to my mother, when the boy was only eight or ten, 'Rab is a genius, and some day the world will know it.' He said so thoughtfully; and my mother, who respected his opinions, cherished his words."

In the centenary celebration of the poet's birth, which took place on the 25th January 1859, few clergymen ventured to take a part. Along with the late Rev. Dr Norman Macleod I attended the centenary banquet, held in the City Hall, Glasgow, under the presidentship of Sir Archibald Alison. Dr Macleod alluded to the poet's "noble protest for the independence and dignity of humanity;" and, in the course of my own remarks, I referred to the eminent service he had rendered to his country, in purifying the national minstrelsy, by substituting

Fac simile of portion of a Letter from Miss Helen Walker to Dr. Rogers.

I recoiled of her
imitation - & then
then, she confided
to me, her great
secret, that she
had written "The
Land o' the Leal"
she made me
promise, never
to reveal this, to
any one - adding
"indeed I have not
told Nairne, in case
he would blab"

pure and wholesome words for those of a most exceptionable character.*

In preparing the "Modern Scottish Minstrel," I experienced important assistance from the late Miss Helen Walker of Edinburgh. This estimable gentlewoman, remarkable alike for her musical skill, literary intimacies, and untiring benevolence, claims more than a passing notice. Remotely connected with the old family of Walker of St Fort, she was descended, on the mother's side, from John, Duke of Lauderdale; her father, James Walker of Dalry, was a principal clerk of session, and an intimate associate of Sir Walter Scott. "My father," said Miss Walker, "took Sir Walter's work at the clerks' table when Sir Walter was writing his *nonsense*."† Her brother Francis married Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir John Forbes Drummond, Bart. of Hawthornden, and on the decease of his father-in-law in 1829, succeeded to the baronetcy and estates. The grandson of this gentleman, Sir James Hamlyn Williams Drummond, is the present baronet.

Miss Walker died at Edinburgh on the 15th July 1873, in her eighty-eighth year. About the year 1821 she became acquainted with Mrs Carolina Oliphant,

* Amidst vehement demonstrations of disapproval, Mr William Burns, who attended this meeting, referred to some proceedings in which he had taken part, as having initiated the banquet, which, he said, had proved "the mother" of others. See "Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns," by James Ballantine, Edin., 1859, p. 56.

† Not a term of contempt in this instance, but an expression used by ancient Scottish gentlewomen to denote fiction.

afterwards Baroness Nairne; and, with a view to my obtaining from her particulars of this interesting gentlewoman, I was, in 1854, made known to her by Mr Robert Chambers. Lady Nairne had confided to Miss Walker what she retained as a secret from nearly all others, including her own husband, that she was author of the "Land o' the Leal," "Caller Herrin'," "The Laird o' Cockpen," and many other popular songs, which had appeared anonymously.

Third daughter of Laurence Oliphant of Gask, the representative of a family which claimed descent from King Robert the Bruce, and a zealous adherent of the royal House of Stewart, Carolina Oliphant was named in honour of Prince Charles Edward. She was born at Gask, Perthshire, on the 16th August 1766. An enthusiastic admirer of the poet Burns, she, imitating his example, began to substitute songs of a pure and wholesome character for the unrefined words associated with the popular airs. In 1792 she produced a version of "The Ploughman;" it was sung at a public dinner given by her brother to the Gask tenantry on his succeeding to the estates. The death of the first-born of a dear friend led her to compose the "Land o' the Leal;" of this tender and beautiful ode the history is interesting. Her school companion, Mary Anne Erskine, daughter of the Episcopal clergyman at Muthill, married, in 1796, Archibald Campbell Colquhoun of Killermont, Sheriff of Perthshire. About a year

Last stanza of "Land o' the Leal."

Now fare ye well my ain John
This warld's cares are vain
We'll meet & we'll be fair
In the land o' the leal

First portion of "Caller Herrin."

Wha'll buy my callar herring
Bonny fish & dainty faring
Wha'll buy my callar herring
New drawn frae the forth +
When ye were sleepin on ^{pillows} your
Dreamt ye ought o' our poor fellows
Darkling as they faced the billows
At to fill the woven villows
Wha'll buy my callar herring
^{There's no bone without brave Durin}
~~Bonny fish & dainty faring~~
Wha'll buy my callar herring
Ye little ken their worth

after her marriage, Mrs Colquhoun gave birth to a daughter. When a year old, the child sickened and died; and to console the afflicted mother, Carolina sent her the verses of the "Land o' the Leal," which soon afterwards found a place in the collections. In 1806 Miss Oliphant married her cousin, Major William Murray Nairne, who, by the reversal of an attainder, afterwards became Baron Nairne. Subsequent to their marriage, Major and Mrs Nairne resided at Edinburgh, where the major held office as assistant inspector of barracks. On his death, which took place in 1830, Lady Nairne lived in England and Ireland, and afterwards at Brussels and Paris. At Brussels, in December 1837, she sustained heavy affliction by the death, in his twenty-ninth year, of her only son, the sixth Lord Nairne. In 1843 she returned from the Continent to her native Gask, where she expired on the 26th October 1845, at the advanced age of seventy-nine. Many of her songs—"Caller Herrin'," "The Laird o' Cockpen," "The Lass o' Gowrie," "Wha'll be King but Charlie," "He's ower the Hills," "Will ye no come back again," "The Auld House," "The Hundred Pipers," "John Tod," and others—have obtained a popularity equal to the songs of Burns.

Devotedly pious, Lady Nairne was, in her latter years, remarkable for her Christian benevolence. A member of the Church of England, she contributed to the funds of the Free Church of Scotland, and to

every charity well reported of, in whatever religious connection, while she transmitted her benefactions without intimating her name. In the accompanying lithographs are represented the concluding stanza of the "Land o' the Leal," and the opening verses of "Caller Herrin'," in her handwriting; also the facsimile of a letter which, in May 1844, she transmitted to Miss Walker, covering a cheque for £50, to be handed to Dr Chalmers for Gaelic schools; and of another, in which she enclosed to Miss Walker a portion of hair belonging to Prince Charles Edward,* and cut by his man-servant, when he obtained shelter at Strowan, the seat of Duncan Robertson, her maternal grandfather.

With the approval of her relatives, I included several of Lady Nairne's songs in the first volume of the "Modern Scottish Minstrel," accompanied by a memoir of her life. Miss Walker subsequently handed me the originals of many of her songs, which I now retain. In 1869 I published a duodecimo volume, entitled "Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne, with a Memoir and Poems of Carolina Oliphant the younger." This work at once passed into a second edition, and has since commanded a wide sale. Carolina Oliphant the younger was Lady Nairne's niece. Eminently pious, she com-

* The lock of the Prince's hair was deeply treasured in the Gask family; separated into very small portions, it was presented to those whom the members especially trusted and honoured.

My Dear friend, I am startled in
me not to mention plain that the
D.O. is devoted to the Greek
schools, what you suggest I mean
to mention Mr. Chalmers - I propose
person to have the charge of it
only if you please don't name
me but only say - joined by
I want to apply it for the Greek
schools.

My Dear friend

It was quite refreshing
to have even a drop of you
- I send a little bit of hair
of G. O. D. - I begin
to be too cold for any savings
& I am still rather than
than you can have but all is
well - & I am very truly
Yours M^r. C. N.



posed verses chiefly on sacred themes, and died in 1831, at the age of twenty-four.

In collecting materials for the "Modern Scottish Minstrel," I made an early visit to Ettrick Forest, or Selkirkshire. Of that county Sir Walter Scott was sheriff; and as, at the period of my inquiries, in 1854, the great minstrel had been dead only twenty-two years, I had an opportunity of conversing with many who were familiar with his habits. I never met any one who spoke of him otherwise than in terms of affectionate admiration; he had won all hearts.

Sir Walter facially resembled the members of the clan Scott; their lineaments are of the Saxon type; massive, rugged, heavy, almost stolid. A member of the sept, whose engraved portrait might be accepted as that of the minstrel, was the late Mr William Scott of Teviot Bank. From his maternal ancestors Sir Walter derived his *bonhomme*. The Rutherfords were a genial, cultivated people—of mild and retiring manners. With a cousin of Sir Walter, the late Mr Robert Rutherford, writer to the signet, I enjoyed some acquaintance. He expressed admiration of his illustrious relative, but shrank from referring to his relationship; he was extremely diffident.

Ambitious of founding a family, Scott much valued his descent, through his paternal grandmother, from the family of Haliburton of Newmains. He inherited from the Haliburtons a right of sepulture in Dry-

burgh Abbey; and he printed, for family use, "Memorials" of the House.

Sir Walter did not marry very fortunately. Lady Scott was not expert as a household manager, nor did she compensate by feminine graces for imperfect housewifery. Her mother was a Frenchwoman, and having acquired French manners, she never abandoned them. English she spoke imperfectly, substituting *de* for *the*, and otherwise betraying ineptitude in mastering the British tongue. There is a history connected with her early life and marriage which has not been very accurately related. In 1796, Williamina Stuart, daughter of Sir John Stuart of Fettercairn, gave Scott her final "No," after a suit which he had prosecuted with some persistence. During the same year he experienced a second heart-stroke in the unexpected marriage of his friend, William Erskine's sister, to Mr Colquhoun of Killermont. Whatever were his intentions towards the latter, the young lady believed that her marriage would cause him some disquietude, for in the immediate prospect of it she wrote him an epistle in which she offered him gentle consolation. When in this letter she alludes to "a dark conference they had lately held together," I incline to think that she refers to the Williamina rejection being confided to her.

Stung by unsuccessful wooing, Scott resolved to compensate himself for wounded feelings and dis-

appointed hopes. With Miss Erskine, the daughter of a poor Episcopal clergyman, he would not have improved his fortune; it had been otherwise if his suit had prospered with Williamina Stuart, who was an heiress. Scott was, however, drawn to Williamina from no worldly or mercenary considerations. Their mothers were early friends; and he loved her with his whole heart. But his love experiences had chilled him not a little; and probably he now contemplated an alliance which might render him independent of his profession as an advocate, which had heretofore done little for his support. On the rising of the Court of Session in July 1797, he accompanied his brother John, and their friend, Adam Ferguson, in a tour to the English lakes. After visiting Carlisle, the Vale of Eamont, Ullswater, and Windermere, they rested at the little spa of Gilsland. There Scott first met Charlotte Margaret Charpentier.

The circumstances of the meeting are not very circumstantially related by Mr Lockhart. I obtained some details which may be relied upon. Arthur, Earl of Hillsborough, afterwards second Marquis of Downshire, resolved, while in his twenty-second year, to make the Continental tour, and obtained from the Rev. Mr Burd, an early friend, letters of introduction to M. Jean Charpentier of Paris, who held office as provider of post-horses to the royal family. This introduction was attended with un-

happy consequences, for Charlotte Volere, the wife of M. Charpentier, flattered by the attentions of the young English nobleman, foolishly eloped with him. She bore a son and daughter, the former named Charles, the latter Charlotte Margaret, the second name resembling that of Lord Hillsborough's mother. Charlotte Volere soon died, and Lord Hillsborough conceived himself entitled to provide for her children. He placed the daughter in a French convent for her education, while for the boy he secured a lucrative appointment in India, his name being changed to Carpenter on his naturalisation. In receiving his appointment, Charles Carpenter bound himself to settle on his sister an annuity of £200. He became commercial resident at Salem; and so long as he lived, was careful to remit his sister's pension.

Having completed her education, Miss Carpenter proceeded to London under the care of Miss Jane Nicolson, grand-daughter of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, who became her companion, on being recommended by Mr Burd, now residentiary canon at Carlisle. At London a young lady of pleasing aspects, with an income of £200, was sure to attract suitors. Miss Carpenter gave preference to an admirer of whom Miss Nicolson disapproved. The disapproval was communicated to her guardian, now Marquis of Downshire. He proposed that the ladies should visit the English lakes, and requested his friend Mr Burd to secure them proper accommodation. As an

early removal was desirable, Lord Downshire desired the ladies to immediately proceed to Carlisle, and there wait on Mr Burd, who would further direct them. When they reached Carlisle, Mr Burd and his family were on the eve of leaving for Gilsland as summer quarters; they invited their visitors to accompany them.

At Gilsland, Mr Burd's party established themselves at the Spa Hotel, and, according to custom, were, as the latest guests, assigned seats at the bottom of the table. Scott arrived only the day before; he chanced to sit beside Mrs Burd, who, perceiving that he was a Scotsman, and ascertaining that he hailed from Edinburgh, inquired whether he knew her friend Major Riddell, then stationed in Edinburgh Castle, and who, with his regiment, had lately been engaged in suppressing a popular outbreak at Tranent. Scott mentioned that the major was one of his friends, and that he was in perfect health when he had seen him a few weeks before. A conversation so auspiciously begun led to renewed intercourse, and afterwards to intimacy. Scott was not indifferent to the charming *brunette* who formed one of the clergyman's party. He danced with her at the ball, handed her to the supper-room, and seating himself by her side, attempted to talk French with her. It was whispered that the brown-eyed beauty possessed an income sufficient to meet the wants of an ordinary household. After a few weeks,

he made proposals to her, and was accepted subject to the approbation of her guardian. Scott now communicated with Lord Downshire, and received in reply a formal letter, in which the Irish nobleman showed every disposition to be relieved from a charge which was burdensome to him. To his communication his lordship desired an answer by return of post; and it is to be presumed that it was satisfactory, for, with the exception of writing another short note, the marquis did not further concern himself in the daughter of Charlotte Volere or her husband. If the husband expected an invitation to the marquis's seat, he was doomed to disappointment, for, though his lordship survived some years, he remained silent.

Scott's marriage took place in St Mary's Church, Carlisle, on the 24th December 1797. To her expectant lord, the bride-elect, ten days before, wrote thus: "It is very unlucky you are such a bad house-keeper, as I am no better." This was true; and she did not improve. Her domestic administration was thriftless. At times she ventured, perhaps good-naturedly, to charge her own want of economy upon her husband. "Dis is de hotel with no pay," she said to my friend, Mrs Hogg,* in her drawing-room at Abbotsford, in allusion to a party then assembled.

Of Sir Walter I received some pleasing reminiscences from Mrs Hogg. She said to me, "Before

* Widow of the Ettrick Shepherd.

I personally knew him, I regarded him with a veneration which I cannot express; and when he led me from the drawing-room to the dinner-table at Abbotsford, soon after my marriage, I felt ready to sink under the honour. But when I had some time sat beside him, and listened to his stories, my veneration changed into respect—a respect which was increased on every subsequent interview. One of our children was born with a weak foot; and Sir Walter, when he heard of it, expressed much concern. He spoke of having suffered much from his lameness, and attributed his misfortune to want of care and proper treatment. He never met me or my husband without tenderly asking for our little pet. ‘How’s the footie?’ he would say. The question, expressed in Sir Walter’s own kind manner, went to my heart.”

Those whom he had long known and regarded with affection, Sir Walter addressed by familiar names. My late friend, William Banks of Edinburgh, was principal clerk and draughtsman to William Home Lizars, the eminent engraver. He had recommended himself to Scott’s notice by some successful drawings, and was ever after hailed with a “How are ye, Willie?” In like fashion did he address the two Ballantynes, William Laidlaw, William Erskine, and Allan Cunningham. Constable was his “fat friend;” James Hogg, “Shepherd;” and Sir Adam Ferguson was “Linton”—by that

name he had been hailed by a Newhaven fisherman, who took him for a companion.

My late friend, Professor Shank More of Edinburgh, gave me the following illustration of Scott's delightful *bonhomie*. As my friend was, in gown and wig, walking one morning in the Parliament House, two gentlemen stepped up and politely asked him whether Sir Walter Scott was coming to court, and if so, when he would arrive? They added that they were Americans, and being in London on business, had come to Scotland on purpose to see the author of "Waverley." At that moment Scott entered the room; after pointing him out to the strangers, my friend walked up and hailed him. Having stated to him what had taken place, Sir Walter said, "They pay me a great compliment by coming so far. I'll take your arm, and will walk up and down, that they may have a proper view." Professor More, in relating this anecdote, said that Scott was always considerate in his treatment of strangers, and that, though his patience was often sorely taxed, he constantly maintained his geniality.

My late friend, Dean Ramsay, having visited Abbotsford at Lady Scott's death, in 1826, supplied, at my request, his impressions of Sir Walter's comportment on that sad occasion :

" . . . You ask me of the impression left on my mind by my visit to Abbotsford on the occasion of Lady Scott's death. It is indeed a very easy and pleasing office to give you that

impression. I could not but feel all the time I was there that our great Sir Walter was as much to be loved for the qualities of his heart as he had so long been admired for the high gifts of his intellect and his genius. He displayed throughout the whole time the subdued and calm spirit of a Christian mourner. There was manifest an entire acquiescence in the wisdom and goodness of his heavenly Father, who had bereaved him of the wife and companion of his early years. His kind, gentle manner to his domestics; his devoted attention to his daughter, who was in deep distress; his serious appearance during the funeral service; his own proposal in the evening to have domestic worship, and his devotional manner at the time, have left a deep and pleasing impression on my mind—the impression that I had witnessed so much gentleness and so much right feeling, which I could not but perceive were the genuine emotions of his heart. Sir Walter Scott was one of the good and great of his race and country.”

At Selkirk, the capital of Ettrick Forest, where his statue in freestone has been erected by the burgesses, Sir Walter is still remembered as “the Shirra,” or sheriff. On the 15th August 1871, the centenary of his birth was celebrated in the principal towns. I had the honour of presiding at one of the two centenary banquets of the metropolis. I subjoin a portion of my speech in proposing his “memory :”

“ . . . Among those old and animating traditions are the feats of Wallace, and the exploits of Bruce, the boldness of Knox, the endurance of the Covenanters, and the fiery energy of the Cavaliers. There are memories too of a land unconquered—a country which cast off foreign domination as the mid-day sun rejects the clouds which, in morning hours, envelop the peaks of Ben Nevis and Schiehallion. But what were these memories apart from those who, in the crucible of their stupendous genius, have moulded them into life and shape? What were Scotland

without the songs of Burns and the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott? Has not Burns refined and purified those outpourings of our elder muse, which, disunited from their soul-stirring melodies, were stale and crude? Has he not depicted the simple joys of rural life with a naturalness which comes home to every bosom? Has he not gathered gems on every mountain, dug pearls from every strand, and placing them in a casket of incomparable song caused them to flash forth, the glory of his country and the admiration of the world? Burns sang 'the loves, the joys, the rural scenes, and rural pleasures of his native soil, in his native tongue.' Scott followed in his wake, and, choosing a wider circuit and a more majestic range, has, in his own impressive Saxon, cast the spell of enchantment over every scene he has depicted, and over every character he has portrayed. At the touch of his genius the glow of chivalry gilds the forest oak; and the heath, the meadow, and the mountain-side blend their hues with pictures of heroic enterprise. Long before our minstrel had waked St Fillan's harp, Scotland possessed her Trosachs and Loch Katrine; but before the witchery of romance had peopled those scenes with Roderick Dhu and Clan Alpine, and brought hither Fair Helen and Fitzjames, who thought of penetrating their tangled thickets or exploring their lovely recesses? For Scotland her sons had fought and bled—the warrior's cairn topped the rugged hill, the sepulchres of heroes dotted the moorland waste; but who, before Scott touched the Caledonian harp, expressed or shadowed forth the aspirations of an unconquered race? Not Henry the Minstrel, quaint and rude; not Archdeacon Barbour, animated but unequal; not the energetic Lindsay; not the old minstrels of Tweedside. It was reserved for the illustrious magician of the nineteenth century to use these potent words:

'Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!'

On distant shores the natives of Caledonia had loved to cherish memories of the dear old country. To the majestic music of the Missouri and the Mississippi they had recounted the legends of

their Scottish home; but not before the mighty harper struck the northern lyre could they describe the charm that bound them to their mountain home. Now in the bosom of every Scottish exile are enshrined these immortal lines:

‘ O Caledonia ! stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child ;
Land of brown heath and shaggy wood ;
Land of the mountain and the flood ;
Land of my sires, what mortal hand
Can e’er untie the filial band,
That knits me to thy rugged strand ?’

For Scotland our great magician has achieved what no poet or historian has accomplished for any other country. He has brought back to the scenes which they adorned, by their patriotism or their virtues, the kings and heroes of the past, and has presented them to our delighted gaze in all their living energy. With the halo of his genius he has bridged the span of centuries and brought before us the busy actors of former generations. In his pages history becomes animate and lives; and the puissant deeds recorded by the chronicler and the annalist start up before our astonished fancy, as enacted now. . . . It is the poet’s vocation not only to celebrate the personal or national virtues, but to kindle those sentiments of brotherhood which bind together as one those of the same race who, in the emergencies of business, live apart from each other and from the common fatherland. In this Sir Walter Scott has succeeded most gloriously. His writings are the solace and delight of Scotsmen on the plains of India, in African deserts, and on the ice-bound shores of Labrador. On visiting Caledonia the descendants of the Scottish race rush to Abbotsford and Dryburgh, before visiting their ancestral homes. Such feelings I myself largely share. I have been hero-worshipper enough to follow the magician from his birth-place in the Edinburgh College Wynd to his father’s house in George Square; from his school scenes at Kelso to his home at Ashestiel; from his house in Castle Street to his residence at Abbotsford. I have walked on that romantic highway along which the procession of mourners passed from Abbotsford to

Dryburgh, as they bore his honoured remains to their last resting-place. Every spot consecrated by his genius I intimately know; on the wreck of baronial splendour I have meditated among the ruins of Kenilworth, on the instability of human glory mused among the tottering walls of Barnard Castle, and recalled the misfortunes of a fallen queen at the fanes which last sheltered her in Scotland—the mouldering arches of Dundrennan. I have seen Melrose by moonlight, wandered in the Rhymer's Glen, visited each romantic spot in Ettrick Forest, and sat in Scott's own chair at Abbotsford. I have trodden the Macgregor's native heath, read the 'Lady of the Lake' on Ellen's Isle, awakened the echoes of Lochgoil, and disturbed the cormorant at Lochleven. Some of Sir Walter's associates I have been privileged to meet. The Ettrick Shepherd's widow has described to me scenes at Abbotsford and at Altrive; the sons of Allan Cunningham, Professor Wilson, and James Ballantyne were my friends; as such I claim the sons of James Hogg and Archibald Constable."

The name of Archibald Constable suggests that of Scott's son-in-law and biographer, John Gibson Lockhart; he died at Abbotsford on the 25th November 1854, in his sixty-first year. In a letter addressed to me, a few days afterwards, Mr Robert Chambers referred to the event in these words:

"It is melancholy to think of Lockhart sinking at sixty—and all through heart-break. Sir Adam Ferguson feels assured that such is the remote but true cause of his death. He was perhaps the least amiable man of letters I ever knew; but these considerations make his departure somewhat touching."

Naturally a cynic, Mr Lockhart was latterly prone to irritation; he possessed that unhappy temperament which magnifies trifles and distorts judgment. His

perversity is in a measure illustrated by his harsh treatment of James Hogg; it was wholly unexpected by the Shepherd's family, who supplied him with papers, and to whom his visits had (as Mrs Hogg assured me) been frequent and cordial. But Archibald Constable and the brothers Ballantyne he cruelly wronged. By Sir Walter Scott they were loved and trusted; and his biographer had no cause to heap censures on their memory. That Sir Walter's character might appear bright and pure, it was unnecessary that his associates should be charged with baseness.

The detractor succeeds at the outset. Lockhart, who, as has been shown by an unprejudiced witness, Mrs Gordon, in the life of her father,* was not unwilling to inflict pain, succeeded in deeply wounding the families of Constable and the Ballantynes. But the day of reparation came. The Ballantynes were vindicated at once, and the censorious vehemence with which Lockhart returned to the charge invoked wide disapproval. In 1873 appeared a memoir of Archibald Constable† by his son; in the third volume of that work the great bookseller obtains full and complete exculpation.

During my Border rambles I visited Chiefswood, a villa in the woods near Melrose, where Lockhart lived with his wife, Sophia Scott, soon after their marriage. The Chiefswood times were probably the

* Christopher North: a Memoir of John Wilson. Edin., 1862, 2 vols., 8vo.

† Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents: a memorial by his son, Thomas Constable. Edin., 1873, 3 vols., 8vo.

brightest in the reviewer's life, for then he had not assumed that cold austerity which repelled strangers, and harassed even attached friends. There, too, he in the months of spring and autumn was in constant intercourse with his illustrious father-in-law, in celebrating the narrative of whose life he was destined to become the most entertaining of all biographers.

I was acquainted with Mr James Robert Hope Scott, who married Lockhart's daughter, and, in his wife's right, possessed Abbotsford. How many persons connected with the great minstrel have passed rapidly away! Sir Walter's sons, Walter, his successor in the baronetcy, and Charles, and his two daughters, Mrs Lockhart and Anne Scott, all died young. Lockhart died at sixty, his sons died early, and his daughter, Mrs Hope Scott, and her husband are gone; the former died at Edinburgh in October 1858, the latter on the 30th April 1873. The great-granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott, Mary Monica Hope Scott of Abbotsford, married in 1874 the Hon. Joseph Constable Maxwell, third son of Baron Herries of Terregles, who has assumed the surname of Scott; of this marriage there is a son, Walter.*

Sir Walter Scott desired to found a family; he will live in his works. After his commercial disasters in

* With Mr John Castle, secretary of the original and auxiliary committees for erecting the monument to Sir Walter Scott at Edinburgh, I had some acquaintance. I consulted him in 1856 as to the best means of promoting the subscription of the Wallace Monument, and he sent me papers used by him in his own canvass. The "List of Schedule Holders in London," dated 21st December 1841, I possess now; it contains some curious entries.

1825, the copyright of his works was acquired by Mr Robert Cadell, at whose death in 1856 it was sold to Messrs Adam & Charles Black. By a gentleman who was connected with Mr Cadell's printing-house, I was informed that down to October 1856, there had been printed of his works and life 7,967,369 volumes, in which had been used 99,592 reams of paper, weighing 1245 tons. Mr Cadell's People's Editions exhausted 227,631 reams, or 2848 tons. The gross weight of paper in Mr Cadell's original and cheap editions amounted to 4093 tons; while the sheets of paper used in the entire works were 106,542,438, which, laid side by side, would cover 3363 square miles.

With Sir Adam Ferguson, one of Sir Walter Scott's especial intimates, I became slightly acquainted, when he was bordering on ninety. In the autumn of 1853 he, at my request, subscribed a memorial to the First Minister of the Crown, praying that a civil list pension might be granted to James Hogg's widow. He spoke to me of the old times, and as I suggested reminiscences of his home at Huntly Burn, and his meetings with Scott and the Ettrick Shepherd, he burst into tears.

Dr James Clarkson, physician at Melrose, who was Sir Walter's medical adviser when he resided at Abbotsford, and who attended him in his last hours, I first met in 1849; he delighted to exhibit a gold snuff-box which was used by Sir Walter, and

presented to him by the family. Dr Clarkson expatiated on Sir Walter's *bonhomie* and unflinching good-nature; but his anecdotes did not serve to illustrate any marked peculiarity.

Throughout his entire career, Sir Walter Scott selected his associates without respect to their social status, but solely from a regard to their genius or intellectual qualities. Among those of humbler rank who early obtained his friendship was James Hogg. This remarkable man became known to Scott, when in 1790, and in his twentieth year, he tended the flocks of Mr James Laidlaw, tenant at Blackhouse in Yarrow. The Shepherd was afterwards indebted to him in overcoming adverse circumstances. Hogg settled at Yarrow in 1817, on the farm of Altrive Lake, which he obtained from the Duke of Buccleuch, on a nominal rent. On the 28th April 1820, he espoused, in his fiftieth year, Margaret Philipps, daughter of a respectable farmer in Annandale, and whom he had at an earlier period celebrated in song. His marriage was one of the most felicitous events in his chequered life; in proposing the health of the couple at Abbotsford, Sir Walter remarked that his friend's choice had indicated an amount of good sense with which he would not have credited him!

With Mrs Hogg I became acquainted in 1853. She had been a widow eighteen years, and had received no pension or other public provision. I offered to consult with friends, and with their co-operation

to advocate her claims. I consulted Mr Robert Chambers, the Messrs Blackwood, and others, and it was agreed that I should, on Mrs Hogg's behalf, prepare a memorial to the Premier, Lord Aberdeen, and offer it for signature to leading persons. The memorial which I drew up proceeded thus :

“To the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen,
First Lord of the Treasury.

“We, undersigned, respectfully invite your Lordship's attention to the dependent circumstances of the widow and three surviving daughters of James Hogg, ‘the Ettrick Shepherd,’ and would express our opinion that the eminent literary merits of the deceased poet entitle them to a place on the Civil List. We recommend the case to your Lordship's early and favourable attention, and would rejoice to learn that the claims of the family were brought under the consideration of the Queen.”

To this memorial I procured forty signatures, including the names of the Earl of Eglinton ; Alfred Tennyson, the poet-laureate ; Lord Provost Mac-laren of Edinburgh ; Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. ; Sir John Watson Gordon, President of the Royal Academy ; John Inglis, now Lord President of the Court of Session ; Charles Neaves, now Lord Neaves ; Agnes Strickland ; James Sheridan Knowles ; William Edmondstone Aytoun ; and other eminent persons. The memorial was transmitted to the Queen by Lord Panmure, who also subscribed it, and it was cordially supported by the Marquis of Breadalbane and several Members of Parliament.

The application was successful ; Lord Aberdeen

placed Mrs Hogg's name on the civil list for a pension of £50. Mrs Hogg called upon me, bearing the Premier's letter; she also brought me a gift of silver plate in recognition of my services. But the pension should have been £100; to that amount I attempted to get it raised, but failed. Lord Palmerston subsequently granted the poet's eldest daughter a pension of £40. Paragraphs which I had inserted in leading Scottish journals proved serviceable in a quarter least expected. From Cincinnati Mr Robert Chambers received a letter in the following terms:

"CINCINNATI, OHIO, *December 7, 1853.*

"DEAR SIR,—Seeing several notices in the public prints of the destitute circumstances of the widow of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, some few of the Scotsmen of this city have undertaken to collect a little sum, and remit it to her as a free-will offering to gladden her heart and soothe her declining years; and as a token of regard for the memory of her late husband, whose sweet songs and well-told tales will ever be remembered with delight by Scotsmen, in whatever part of the world their lot may be cast. The notices we have seen do not mention Mrs Hogg's present place of residence, nor do we know to whose care we ought to remit our offering. We know of no one in Scotland to whom we can apply with better assurance of attention than to yourself. Your known public spirit and sympathy with distress embolden us to take this liberty. You will oblige us much if you can inform us to whom we may address for her; and any information with reference to her will be gladly received. We have sent our subscription papers to the principal cities of the West, and hope to have good accounts from them by the beginning of the year.

"PETER THOMSON,
"WALTER PATERSON, } *Committee.*
"ROBERT CLARKE,

Mr Chambers transmitted this letter to me, with a request that I would answer it. I did so ; and in the following March received for Mrs Hogg, from Cincinnati, a remittance of about £130. The intimacy I had formed with this estimable gentlewoman increased the interest with which I regarded the memory of the Ettrick bard. Aware that he had been assailed by Lockhart, and that the prejudice excited by the reviewer's censure had obtained deep root, I determined to make a searching inquiry into the history of his life. Happily, I enjoyed a favourable opportunity, for while Mrs Hogg was reticent, her son gave me access to the family papers ; and in the course of my Forest tour I visited every spot associated with the poet's memory. Concerning his private life, I inquired in the vale of Ettrick, and at Yarrow. I interrogated elderly persons who had known him at Melrose, where he sold his lambs ; at Selkirk, where he sold his wool ; at Innerleithen, where he presided at the Border games, and all reported lovingly. Next I had interviews with his literary associates. Of these, some censured his vanity and self-assertion, and his singing too frequently his own songs ; but all commended him as a kind friend and delightful associate. Lockhart charged him with dishonouring the memory of Sir Walter Scott, but the imputation was unjust. Hogg issued reminiscences of Sir Walter prior to the appearance of Mr Lockhart's memoir, but he had not otherwise

offended. In his reminiscences he describes his benefactor as "a good man, an anxiously kind husband, an indulgent parent, a sincere friend, a just judge, and a punctual correspondent; an extraordinary man—the greatest man in the world."*

On one subject relating to his own personal history Hogg certainly erred. He was in the habit of asserting that he was born on the 25th of January 1772, the day on which Burns saw the light thirteen years before, while a reference to the family Bible or the baptismal register would have shown him that he was baptized in December 1770.

A memoir of Hogg, which I included in the second volume of the "Minstrel," published in 1856, attracted some attention, and in consequence I was led to think of rearing in the churchyard of Ettrick, where his remains are deposited, a more substantial and appropriate monument than the plain grave-stone there erected by his widow. In the year 1858 I issued a few circular letters intimating my proposal, and inviting co-operation; they were addressed to opulent or notable persons in the Border counties. I received only one reply; it was from the Duke of Buccleuch, tendering a contribution of £10. Announcing the Duke's remittance in the public journals, I sent out subscription sheets; and before the expiry of six months contributions were promised to the extent of

* The Domestic Memoirs and Private Life of Sir Walter Scott. By James Hogg. Glasgow, 1834, p. 113.

£150. The Ettrick churchyard scheme was abandoned; and on revisiting the vale of Ettrick I became satisfied that, as the site of a public monument, it was too secluded, and too far removed from the path of travellers. Exploring Yarrow, I fixed on an elevated spot at Mount Benger, overlooking the poet's residence at Altrive Lake. This site, identified with a place which the poet rented, and overlooking many scenes associated with interesting events in Border history, seemed particularly adapted for the erection. Some thought otherwise. A clergyman at Ettrick considered that the poet could only be appropriately commemorated in that valley, while a professor at St Andrews urged with greater force that monuments "were for cities, not for solitudes," and that a public monument in any portion of Ettrick Forest would, by attracting excursion parties, mar its pastoral seclusion. The controversy waxed nearly as hot as had the conflicts of rival clans in the same locality some centuries before; and unwilling that it should be prolonged, I proposed to place the monument at Edinburgh. Applying to the Lord Provost and magistrates of that city, I was granted a site in the Princes Street Gardens. But in seeking to allay strife I found I had promoted it. Hitherto the combatants had allowed me to pass scatheless; now that I proposed to remove the monument from the forest, I was charged with craft, guile, and wicked dissimulation. The Duke of Buccleuch, intending probably to act as peacemaker,

named as a site the town of Selkirk, the capital of the forest. This proposal would have suited, had his Grace reared the structure at his sole expense; but the general body of subscribers would not acquiesce in (as they expressed it) adding to the adornments of a provincial town.

Amidst increasing difficulties, I was invited by the late Mr John Scott, writer to the Signet, to visit him at Edinburgh. With his father, Mr William Scott of Raeburn, he had frequently entertained "the Shepherd," and had acted as trustee for his children; and having lately purchased the estate of Chapelhope, on the borders of St Mary's Loch in Yarrow, he much desired that the monument should be built upon his property; he also proposed to defray the cost of the inaugural ceremony. This proposal proved as oil to the troubled waters; and it was agreed that a site on a knoll at Chapelhope, overlooking St Mary's Loch and the Loch of the Lowes, should be accepted. This site, I was informed by a son of Professor Wilson, had been named by his father; it is thus quaintly foreshadowed in the "Noctes:"*

"My beloved Shepherd, some half century hence, your effigy will be seen on some bonny green knowe in the forest, with its honest face looking across St Mary's Loch, and up towards the Grey Mare's Tail, while by moonlight all your own fairies will weave a dance round its pedestal."

The vexed question of the site being settled, the

* "Noctes Ambrosianæ" in *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1824.

subscription made rapid progress ; and, in September 1859, I commissioned Mr Andrew Currie, an ingenious sculptor, born in the forest, and who was personally acquainted with the poet, to prepare a design and submit an estimate. Mr Currie's design, representing a statue of the Shepherd seated and resting on a pedestal, was generally approved, and the Duke of Buccleuch granted a stone for the statue, from his quarry at White Hill, near Langholm. The sculptor completed his labours in about eight months, and in the beginning of June 1860 building operations were begun. The inaugural ceremony was fixed to take place on the 28th day of the same month. At the request of Mr Scott of Rodono and Chapelhope, I invited, to an entertainment under canvas, the whole of the subscribers, and leading persons of the neighbourhood. My letter of invitation, a lithographed circular, proceeded thus :

“ STIRLING, *May* 29, 1860.

“ SIR,—I am desired by Mr Scott of Rodono, to request the honour of your company at dinner, immediately after the inauguration of the Ettrick Shepherd's monument at St Mary's Loch, on Thursday the 28th June. The dinner will be provided in a spacious marquee ; and, in Mr Scott's unavoidable absence, Mr Sheriff Glassford Bell will preside. An inaugural address, by Mr Bell, will be delivered at one o'clock, and dinner will be served about half-past two. Omnibuses will leave Selkirk for St Mary's Loch, on Thursday the 28th June, immediately on the arrival of the first train from Edinburgh ; but to prevent disappointment, gentlemen are requested to secure seats, by applying to Mr Dryden, County Hotel, Selkirk.

“ CHARLES ROGERS.”

I was also privileged to intimate, in the Border newspapers, that all who presented themselves at the inaugural ceremony would be entertained "on the green" at Mr Scott's expense.

On Thursday the 28th June 1860, there was a holiday in all the Border towns, and, though the weather was unpropitious, about three thousand persons, before one o'clock, assembled at the rendezvous of Tibbie Shiel's cottage. A procession of shepherds, marshalled at Crosscleuch, was preceded by Donald Bain, the gallant piper of the 42d Regiment, who had performed a like duty on the heights of the Alma. In the rear of the procession walked the members of the Shepherd's family, including his three daughters, son-in-law, and nephew, preceded by the *Albany Herald*, attired in the costume of his predecessors in the sixteenth century, and wearing the badge and ribbon of Scotland. The Rev. James Russell, minister of the parish, having engaged in prayer, Mr Sheriff Glassford Bell delivered his inaugural address. He thus concluded an eloquent panegyric on the poet's genius :

"The monument is before you, adding a new feature to this romantic land ; announcing to all comers that Scotland never forgets her native poets ; teaching the lowliest labourer that genius and the rewards of genius are limited to no rank or condition ; upholding in its Doric and manly simplicity the dignity of humble worth ; and bidding the Tweed, and the Yarrow, the Ettrick, the Teviot, and the Gala, sparkle more brightly, as they 'roll on their way ;' for the Shepherd, who murmured by their banks a music

sweeter than their own, is to be seen once more by the side of his own Loch Mary. There let it remain in the summer winds and the winter showers, never destined to be passed carelessly by, as similar testimonials too often are in the crowded thoroughfares of cities, but gladdening the heart of many an admiring pilgrim, who will feel at this shrine that the *donum naturæ*, the great gift of song, can only come from on high, and who, as he wends on his way, will waken the mountain echoes with the Shepherd's glowing strains, wedded to some grand old melody of Scotland, one of those many melodies which have given energy to the swords of her heroes, and inspiration to the lyres of her poets!"

Two hundred ladies and gentlemen dined together in a marquee, under the presidentship of Mr Sheriff Bell. Speeches appropriate to the occasion were delivered by Professor Pillans of Edinburgh, the Hon. William Napier, the Rev. Henry Scott Riddell, the Rev. James Russell, minister of the parish, and others. In presenting a history of the enterprise, I was enabled to report that the entire amount required to complete the structure, being £404,* had

* Copies of a Glasgow newspaper, suggesting that I had abstracted 25 per cent. as commission from the monument fund, were afterwards distributed in the forest. In defence, I authorised the treasurer, Mr Peter Rodger, banker, Selkirk, to exhibit at his office a statement of accounts, and advertised in the Border journals that I had done so. But the Glasgow calumny was continued all the same, as the following letter, from the sculptor of the monument, written in 1866, would serve to show:

"DARNICK, 7th February 1866.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is with mingled feelings of surprise and indignation that I learn that some parties are circulating the calumny that the bust I presented to you was a part of 'your illicit gains;' and since you request me, as a means of clearing your character of so foul a slander, to state the history of the bust, I willingly do so. I was prompted, then, to make it, and ask your acceptance of it (although it was against your own wish) from motives of gratitude and respect for your integrity and unselfishness in the affair of the Hogg monument. You paid me generously and liberally, although I knew at the time you were a loser yourself, and while your patriotism was repaid by vile insinuations."

been subscribed, while, with the exception of £50 remitted from Australia by a native of the Border, and a few contributions received from England and America, the fund had been obtained in the Border counties. Mr Scott provided a sumptuous banquet; and upwards of two thousand persons were, in the marquee and on the green, entertained by his munificence.

The monument occupies the centre of a triangular piece of ground, north of the county road, and intermediate between the lochs of St Mary's and the Lowes. The base of the triangle rests upon the road; at the apex, the Oxcleuch Burn descends in a gentle cascade, forming thereafter the western boundary. From the monument is obtained a fine prospect of the two lochs, with their accessories of mountain and meadow, corrie and cataract. In this vicinity the Shepherd often sat with "an inkhorn dangling at his button-hole, a bit stump o' a pen, nae bigger than an auld wife's pipe, in his mouth, and a piece o' paper torn out o' the hinder-end o' a volume, crunkling on his knee," musing on those fairy ballads and pastoral lays which were to delight the world. Such an idea has been embodied in the structure of the monument. The bard is seated on an oak-root enveloped by an ivy stem, and with some leaves of bracken falling upon it; and his head droops as if he was surveying the scenery of the lakes. A shepherd's plaid crosses one shoulder and falls gracefully



THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD'S MONUMENT.

upon his limbs. In his left hand he holds a scroll, inscribed with the last line of the "Queen's Wake :"

"Hath taught the wandering winds to sing."

His dog "Hector" rests at his feet, with head erect, surveying the hills behind, as if conscious of his duties in tending the flocks during the poetic reverie of his master.

The pedestal is about ten feet in height ; a wreath of oak leaves and acorns surrounds the entablature, while a finely-sculptured ram's head projects from each of the corners. Each side contains a panel ; the front panel displays a harp, surmounted by the head of Queen Mary, and a wreath of forest flowers ; also the words :

"JAMES HOGG, the Ettrick Shepherd. Born 1770. Died 1835."

On the other panels are engraved the following passages from the "Queen's Wake :"

"Instead of arms or golden crest,
His harp with mimic flowers was drest ;
Around, in graceful streamers, fell
The briar-rose and the heather-bell."

"At even-fall, in lonesome dale,
He kept strange converse with the gale,
Held worldly pomp in high derision,
And wandered in a world of vision."

"Oft had he viewed, as morning rose,
The bosom of the lonely Lowes ;
Oft thrilled his heart at close of even
To see the dappled vales of heaven,
With many a mountain, moor, and tree,
Asleep upon the Saint Mary."

Mrs Hogg was not present at the inaugural cere-

mony, but she subsequently inspected the monument, and visited her old friends in Ettrick Forest ; she had not been at Yarrow for twenty-five years. She survived ten years longer, to see all her family well settled, and to find that her husband's memory had burst the cloud of obloquy, and become widely honoured. She died on the 13th November 1870, about her eightieth year.

When at Yarrow I visited the roofless cottage, at Foulshiels, near Selkirk, where Mungo Park, the African traveller, was born. I was acquainted with his niece, daughter of his sister, Mrs Thomson, whose husband rented the farm of Myreton, near Alva, in Clackmannanshire. Mrs Thomson, as her daughter informed me, was in the habit of relating that, not long after receiving a letter from her brother from Africa, in the year 1805, she fancied, at night, that he stood before her, when, as she sought to touch him, the appearance vanished. So far as could be ascertained, Park perished in Africa, about the same time. In 1857 subscriptions were raised in the Border counties for a monument to Park at Selkirk, and the execution was entrusted to Mr Currie. But the committee failed to collect an amount sufficient to defray the expense. I afterwards raised about £30, and the balance was procured. In 1860 I attempted, unsuccessfully, to procure a civil list pension for Jean Park, the traveller's niece.

During my Border tour in 1854 I proceeded from

Ettrick Forest to Teviotdale. At Denholm I visited the birthplace of Dr John Leyden, philologist and poet, a wild spot, totally uninhabited. I became acquainted with the poet's younger brother, Andrew, who, though possessed of superior intelligence, and not unacquainted with books, never emerged from the condition of a shepherd. When I knew him he was unable to follow the flocks, and was engaged in work about a farm. I endeavoured to befriend him by requesting the Lords of the Treasury to allow him a small grant from "the compassionate fund." He died on the 26th April 1869 at the age of seventy. A tall, handsome man, he bore a resemblance to his distinguished brother. Dr John Leyden died in India in August 1811. About half a century afterwards a movement was instituted to celebrate him by a monument. The enterprise for some years made no progress, and in the autumn of 1860 I was requested, by Mr Hope Scott of Abbotsford and others, to undertake its completion. I was inclined to acquiesce, but as a member of committee reported that he was assured from Glasgow that I retained 25 per cent. as commission on my monumental labours, I declined to reap further misrepresentation. But the committee now engaged heartily in their work, and completed their task most worthily. A handsome monument to Leyden occupies an appropriate site on "the green" at Denholm. In 1860 I declined a request made to me that I

would help in rearing a monument at Athelstaneford to John Home, the author of "Douglas ;" I dreaded Glasgow.

From Teviotdale, celebrated by Leyden in his "Scenes of Infancy," I made an excursion to Teviot-head to visit the poet Riddell. I found the bard a little in *dishabille*, preparing his winter fodder. We had previously corresponded, and our acquaintance soon warmed into intimacy ; he repeatedly visited me at Stirling, and we remained on most friendly terms till his death, which took place on the 28th July 1870.

Riddell was originally a shepherd, and though he became a licentiate of the Established Church and mixed in society, he retained the simple manners of the pastoral life. Through a severe ailment he was compelled to abandon his profession, a contingency which would have brought him to poverty but for the beneficence of the Duke of Buccleuch, who granted him an annuity. He had earned little by his writings, and when in 1854 I formed his acquaintance, I found that, with the most rigid economy, he could barely subsist. From the Royal Literary Fund I procured him a small grant, with a promise that it would be frequently renewed. I afterwards endeavoured, with no inconsiderable support, to place his name on the civil list, but only succeeded in procuring him a Treasury pension of ten pounds.

Under more favourable circumstances, Henry Scott Riddell would have obtained wide fame. Several of

his songs, such as "The Wild Glen sae Green," "The Land of Gallant Hearts," "Scotland Yet," and "The Crook and Plaid," are among the best in the language. His prose writings are somewhat verbose, but with a little pruning would sustain a reputation. He was an expert correspondent, a kind friend, and a pleasing and most intelligent companion.

From Teviothead I intended to penetrate into Liddesdale to visit James Telfer, another Border poet, but the distance was considerable, and the roads most uninviting. But I communicated with Telfer by letter, and our correspondence was occasionally renewed. Telfer had been a shepherd, and became a schoolmaster; but his school fees never exceeded £30 a year. He published an interesting volume of "Tales and Sketches," and composed several interesting lays. He loved seclusion, but, indulging a tendency to satire, sacrificed some friendships. He died in 1863 at the age of sixty-two.

John Younger, poet and shoemaker, at St Boswells, was one of the most intelligent persons in humble life I have chanced to meet. An hour's conversation with Younger was a positive enjoyment. In talking he did not abandon his work, but was never more diligent with the awl than when keenly engaged in argument, or in relating some literary experience. He gained in 1849, among upwards of a thousand competitors, the second of three prizes offered for an essay on the Sabbath; he was in consequence con-

veyed to London, presented to the Prince Consort, and celebrated in Exeter Hall. Younger maintained a literary correspondence with several notable persons, and was careful to preserve copies of his letters. He died in 1860 at the age of seventy-five.

My visit to the Border introduced me to Robert White, poet and historical writer; Elliot Aitchison, an eccentric man, but pleasing poet; Thomas Tod Stoddart, minstrel of the waters; Peter Roger, blacksmith and song-writer; and John Halliday.

During a visit to Dumfriesshire I was introduced to a sister of Allan Cunningham, an estimable gentlewoman. I afterwards became acquainted with Peter Cunningham, the poet's son, a man of high literary culture, whose sun set much too soon. A kind-hearted, pleasant man, he loved social enjoyment, but latterly lived in retirement. Pains-taking and accurate in editing various works entrusted to his supervision, he in this respect contrasted favourably with his father, who, while to be commended as an original writer, lacked that power of research essential to properly editing the works of others. With Allan Cunningham's nephew, William Pagan of Clayton, author of "Road Reform," I enjoyed an early and intimate acquaintance; he indulged a ready humour, and possessed a large share of the family talent.

At Paisley, in 1856, I was introduced to a brother of Robert Tannahill, the ingenious song-writer. Matthew Tannahill so much resembled the bard that his por-

trait is made to represent him in a Paisley edition of his works. An aged, well-conducted man, Matthew gave me some particulars of his brother's history, which he had not before made public. Free of vanity in its more degrading forms, the poet, he said, was abundantly conscious of poetic skill; and being disappointed in obtaining recognition from George Thomson, the correspondent of Burns, or from Archibald Constable, the publisher, he became dejected. To relieve disappointed hopes he had recourse to stimulants. Complaining of a prickling sensation in his head, Matthew entreated him to abandon the use of liquor. The warning came too late, for he soon afterwards began to exhibit symptoms of mental disorder. He was narrowly watched, but contrived to escape unperceived from his bed-chamber. His lifeless body was found in an adjoining river. He terminated his own life on the 17th May 1810, at the age of thirty-six. Tannahill's songs—"Jessie, the Flower o' Dunblane," "Bonnie Wood o' Craigie Lea," "Loudon's Bonnie Woods and Braes," and the "Braes o' Balquhither"—are, in simplicity and sweetness, unexcelled in Scottish minstrelsy.

At Paisley and Glasgow I inquired about the poet William Motherwell, and had a conversation respecting him with his physician and biographer, Dr M'Conechy. Largely imbued with patriotic sentiment, he attempted to raise by subscription a monument to Wallace at Glasgow, but failed. His ballads

abound in graceful simplicity and exquisite tenderness. He died suddenly on the 1st November 1835, at the age of thirty-eight.

With Thomas Lyle, an associate of Motherwell, I became acquainted in his latter years. He had edited a respectable volume of "Ancient Ballads;" but his fame rested on his having composed the song of "Kelvin Grove." He was a son of genius born to misfortune. As a physician, he long practised at Airth in Stirlingshire, but being regarded as more devoted to gathering plants than to the art of healing, he lacked professional success. Latterly he removed to Glasgow, but his circumstances amended but slightly. The song on which his poetical reputation rested being assigned to another, he proved his title, but never forgot the conflict he had in sustaining it. Lyle was born at Paisley in 1792, and died at Glasgow in April 1859. My friend, Dr John Robertson of the High Church, visited him on his death-bed, and had suitable conversations with him. As he lived in obscurity, his departure was scarcely noticed in the newspapers. Kelvin Grove, which he has celebrated, is nearly as forgotten as the poet himself; a part of the city of Glasgow now occupies its site.

Than the name of Thomas Lyle not more familiar with the public is that of Alexander Carlile. Yet a song from his pen—"Wha's at the window? wha, wha?"—maintains a wide popularity. Mr Carlile

was a manufacturer at Paisley. During his latter years, when I knew him, he was devoted to literary pursuits. He had studied at Glasgow University; and he was an occasional contributor to the periodicals. He died in August 1860, at an advanced age.

With the Rev. Dr John Park, minister of St Andrews, I enjoyed a pleasing intimacy. When a student at the University of Aberdeen in 1826, he composed the song "Where Gadie rins," which has maintained its popularity. He was a native of Greenock, where his father kept the White Hart Hotel. Having studied for the ministry, he was in 1841 elected pastor of Rodney Street Presbyterian Church, Liverpool. In 1843 he became minister of Glencairn; and in 1854 was translated to St Andrews. He was an eloquent preacher, and an accomplished musician. He composed many tunes, some of which have been published. In regard to his song "Where Gadie rins," Dr Park thus communicated with me in 1855:

"The air is old. I heard it whistled by a fellow-student at Aberdeen, and tried these words for it. The only words he could give me as old ones were—

' O an I were where Gadie rins,
Where Gadie rins, where Gadie rins,
O an I were where Gadie rins,
At the back o' Benochie.'

But he told me that a Scottish officer in Egypt had been much affected and surprised on hearing a soldier's wife crooning the song to herself, and this I believe was the hint upon which I tried the verses. The air is undoubtedly old, from its resemblance to several Gaelic and Irish airs. I have been surprised

—though it would be affectation not to say agreeably surprised—by the interest which has been felt in connection with this trifle.”

In an accompanying lithograph is presented a facsimile of the song, in the author's handwriting.

Dr Park died on the 8th April 1865. Possessed of vigorous intellectual power, he would have attained wider fame if he had more concentrated his energies. Several songs from his pen, with music of his own composition, are being issued at intervals.

Andrew Park, another west country bard, published twelve volumes of poetry. “Silent Love,” his best poem, passed into several editions. Park was born at Renfrew, in March 1807, and was trained to business. He was first a dealer in hats, and afterwards a bookseller; but his restless sociable nature disqualified him for mercantile duties. When I became acquainted with him in 1856, he was subsisting by his wits, and courted for his society. Of an agreeable demeanour, and always apparelled in becoming vestments, he was presentable at any table, and he dined out almost daily. His home, if he had one, must have been stored sparingly, for his works sold slowly, and he would not have recourse to a subscription. He died at Glasgow in December 1863. His admirers have, in the cemetery at Paisley, reared a monument to his memory.

With Hugh Macdonald, the Glasgow poet, I was acquainted slightly. I was struck with his unpre-

Song "I wish I were where Sadie rins", in handwriting
of the Author, The Rev. John Park, D.D.

I wish I were where Sadie rins
'Maug fragrant heath & yellow whins,
Or brawlin' down the bosky liues
at the back o' Benochie;
To hear, ance Mair, the Blackbird's sang, -
To wander, birks and braes amang, -
wi' friends and fav'rites, left sae lang, -
at the back o' Benochie -

How mony a day, in blythe Springtime,
How mony a day in Summer's prime, -
I wuld awa' my careless time, -
On the heights o' Benochie.
Ah! Fortune's flowers wi' thorns are rife,
And walth is won wi' grief & strife, -
O day gie me a 'youthfu' life, -
at the back o' Benochie

Oh! Mary, there, on ilka nicht,
when baith our hearts were young & licht,
we've wand'ried when the Moon was brecht
wi' speeches fond and free -
Oh! Awe, Awe Mair, where Sadie rins, -
where Sadie rins where Sadie rins, -
Oh! Nicht I see, where Sadie rins
at the back o' Benochie

tentious frankness. He published "Days at the Coast," a series of papers descriptive of scenery on the Clyde, and other works. He died in March 1860, at the age of forty-three. His poetical writings were published posthumously, accompanied with a memoir.

The greatest poetical genius of the west of Scotland in recent times was James Macfarlan. This strangely-constituted individual may not be easily described. The Ettrick Shepherd remarked, when a limner failed to produce a satisfactory portrait of him, that his "face was out of all rule of drawing;" he was right, for his cheek bones did not match, one being longer than the other. In the character of James Macfarlan there was a like want of symmetry. He was a poet born, yet rags, meanness, leasing, and drink were also in a manner native to him. Viewing him on one side, we discover a lofty poetical genius of noble aspirations; observing him on the other, we remark a spectacle at which the moralist would stare and the compassionate might weep.

Having read some of Macfarlan's verses, I desired to form his acquaintance, and I met him by appointment some time in 1856. Our interview was short, and had I chanced to meet him prior to reading his verses, it might have been shorter still. Appearance of genius he had none. Of slender form, tattered garments, and commonplace features, he seemed every inch the *gaberlunzie*. Nor did his manner of con-

versation tend to modify the impression. Low society he loved, and his best verses were written amidst the fumes of tobacco and whisky. His muse was always ready ; and on the margins of old newspapers, amidst the distractions of a taproom, he would inscribe admirable verses. With equal promptitude he could invent a tale of distress, or feign a family bereavement, to obtain sixpences. He was born in the Calton, Glasgow, in April 1832. His education consisted in desultory attendances at schools in Glasgow, Kilmarnock, and Greenock. His father, a native of Ireland, was a pedlar, and for the same precarious occupation destined the poet. But he would not take to the pack ; he preferred to contribute verses to the newspapers. At length he procured the secretaryship of the Glasgow *Athenæum*. The appointment was forfeited by reckless inebriety. He next reported to the newspapers, but his irregular habits again deprived him of employment. He published "City Songs" in 1855 ; but the profit of this work was dissipated by his excesses. He afterwards printed some poetical opuscles, which, bleared and dingy, he sold for what he could procure. What he realised by hawking his verses he consumed in the pot-house.

I corresponded with Macfarlan, and tried to help him ; but at first to little purpose. In June 1861 he sent me a poem on "Wallace," which I printed and distributed, receiving a few pounds for the writer. In July of the same year I endeavoured to promote

a subscription edition of his poems ; he acknowledged my proposal in these terms :

“ GLASGOW, *August 6, 1861.*

“ Many thanks for your letter of the 31st July. I am very anxious to have the poems collected, but there are many difficulties in the way. In the first place, I have not all my former publications beside me ; and secondly, I fear no printer would accept as a guarantee even all the subscribers that I could get for so large a book as you propose me to make. Your own offer to procure fifty subscribers is generous. I will do my best to give the volume as respectable an appearance as possible, and include in it nothing but what my mature judgment approves, although indeed I have never reached the standard set up by myself. . . . I have no extravagant dreams of distinction or emolument, but I have read of poor men like myself who have been recognised through the means that I wish to adopt. I have surely written something that is worth reading or hearing, and under circumstances that rarely fall to the poetic tribe, proverbial as they are for misfortunes. Mine has been not the *fear*, but the actual feeling of want ; and indeed I attribute much, if not the whole, of my present illness to sufferings experienced, particularly in the last terrible winter, when, with my family, I had too frequently to add to a day's want of food the bitterness of a couch that had scarcely the slightest covering to screen us from the rigorous cold. But these are unpleasant pictures which I will spare you. I would like the preface, above all things, when you find it convenient. Either of the publishing firms you mention are excellent ; and there is much in a book being supposed to be published in London.”

Nothing came of the proposal, for the poet again plunged into dissipation. In January 1862 I engaged him as contributor to a periodical, on the condition that he would keep sober ; he became an abstainer, but I suspect violated his pledge, for he soon after

begged me for money under the menace that if it did not reach him by an early post he would destroy himself. Of a sudden his letters ceased, and I conceived that his reckless habits had returned. But he was ill. Lack of proper food and clothing, together with his unfortunate habits, had impaired a constitution never very robust. He was confined to his sick chamber, if so might be called a cold attic without furniture, and nearly without bed-clothes. Some kind neighbours at length supplied him with food, medicine, and warm clothing. A physician gratuitously attended him; and my late friend, Dr John Robertson of the High Church, recommended to him the comforts of religion. The dying poet expressed regret for his follies, and avowed his confidence in the Saviour. He died at Glasgow on the 5th November 1862, at the age of thirty-one. No poet more ingenious had, since Burns, sprung from the ranks of the people. He did not compose songs, though several of his compositions might be set to music. His muse celebrated the nobler instincts and aspirations of humanity. The dignity of the industrial calling has never been celebrated more powerfully than in the following ode to "The Lords of Labour :"

" They come, they come, in a glorious march,
You can hear their steam-steeds neigh,
As they dash through Skill's triumphal arch,
Or plunge 'mid the dancing spray.
Their bale-fires blaze in the mighty forge,
Their life-pulse throbs in the mill,
Their lightnings shiver the gaping gorge,
And their thunders shake the hill.

Ho ! these are the Titans of toil and trade,
The heroes who wield no sabre ;
But mightier conquests reapeth the blade
That is borne by the Lords of Labour.

“ Brave hearts like jewels light the sod,
Through the mists of commerce shine,
And souls flash out like stars of God,
From the midnight of the mine.
No palace is theirs, no castle great,
No princely pillared hall,
But they well may laugh at the roofs of state
’Neath the heaven which is over all.
Ho ! these are the Titans of toil and trade,
The heroes who wield no sabre ;
But mightier conquests reapeth the blade
Which is borne by the Lords of Labour.

“ Each bares his arm for the ringing strife,
That marshals the sons of the soil,
And the sweat-drops shed in the battle of life
Are gems in the crown of toil.
And better their well-won wreaths, I trow,
Than laurels with life-blood wet ;
And nobler the arch of a bare, bold brow,
Than the clasp of a coronet.
Then hurrah for each hero, although his deed
Be unblown by the trump or tabor ;
For holier, happier far is the meed
That crowneth the Lords of Labour !” *

Alexander Smith, author of the “ Life Drama,” was born at Kilmarnock, on the 31st December 1829. By his father he was trained as a pattern-drawer, but he did not relish the vocation. To the columns of a Glasgow newspaper he contributed verses in early manhood, but these seem to have passed without notice. In 1851 he sent a selection of his more matured compositions to the Rev. George Gilfillan,

* As these sheets are being printed, I have received from Sergeant James Clarke of the 72d Highlanders, now stationed in Sealkote, Bengal, a copy of the “ Lords of Labour,” accompanied by a most appropriate melody.

soliciting his opinion and advice. Mr Gilfillan commended the poetry, and introduced the writer to the columns of *The Critic*, a London serial. In that periodical the "Life Drama" first appeared. In 1852 it was published in a volume, by Mr Bogue, who paid the author £100. Mr Smith suddenly found himself famous; he proceeded to London, where he became the *lion* of literary circles.

In 1854 he was appointed secretary of the University of Edinburgh. Having married, he planted his household tree at Wardie, near Granton. He employed his spare time in writing for the booksellers, and in contributing to the public journals. In 1863 he published "Dreamthorp," a volume of essays. His "Summer in Skye," a work of entertaining reading, was issued in 1865. During the following year, he published in *Good Words*, and afterwards separately, his well-written romance, "Alfred Hagart's Household." He worked hard, till his health became unsettled; he died on the 5th of January 1867, in his thirty-eighth year.

Archibald Mackay of Kilmarnock, author of a well-written history of that place, and several excellent songs, I found a shrewd and intelligent observer, with plain, unpretending manners. Marion Paul Aird, of the same town, an ingenious poetess, I tried to help, but with what success I never learned.

In April 1854 I commenced a correspondence with Henry Glassford Bell of Glasgow, orator and poet.

Mr Bell supplied various contributions to the "Modern Scottish Minstrel," and obligingly furnished me with particulars of his history. We afterwards became intimate. At my request he delivered addresses at the Wallace Monument meetings at Stirling, in 1856 and 1861, and inaugurated the Ettrick Shepherd's Monument in 1860. Of a commanding presence, and possessing a pleasant utterance, he was esteemed as a public speaker; and he was painstaking and indefatigable as a judge. In private life he was eminently sociable. He died on the 7th January 1874, aged sixty-eight. With his accomplished sister, Mrs Simpson *née* Jane Cross Bell, I became acquainted in 1855. Her earlier writings, both in prose and verse, appeared under her *nom de plume* of "Gertrude." Her best known lyric, "The Ode to Prayer," beginning "Go when the morning shineth," is remarkable alike for spiritual fervour and classical simplicity.

Connected with Glasgow, by birth and residence, was William Glen, best known as author of the ode, "Wae's me for Prince Charlie." Glen died at Glasgow in December 1826, at the age of thirty-seven; I obtained an account of his personal history, which I published in the "Minstrel," with specimens of his songs. In 1855 I learned that his widow and daughter occupied a retired cottage at Aberfoyle, but was uninformed of them further till September 1872, when, in a popular serial, Mrs George Cupples invited

attention to the fact that they kept an orphanage. Her narrative was accompanied with such interesting details, that I was induced to make a pilgrimage to the spot. In 1874 I published, in a duodecimo volume, "The Poetical Remains of William Glen," accompanied by a memoir of the poet and his family; also an account of the Aberfoyle orphanage, prepared by Mrs Cupples. The work was issued for the benefit of the widow. I also made an effort to procure her a grant from the Royal Literary Fund, but unsuccessfully.

Glasgow was the birthplace of Thomas Campbell, author of "The Pleasures of Hope." As a songwriter he obtained a place in the "Minstrel;" and I was afterwards requested to prepare a memoir of him, for an edition of his poetical works in the emerald series of the poets, published by Messrs Griffin. In preparing his memoir I was privileged to obtain some unpublished materials from his nephews, Messrs Archibald and Alexander Campbell, and Dr William Beattie, his physician and biographer.

Dr William Beattie was himself a poet of no inconsiderable culture; he was a contributor to the "Minstrel." He died on the 17th March 1875, at the age of eighty-two. He had been physician to the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., and for many years was the medical attendant and private friend of Samuel Rogers and Thomas Campbell. He published several volumes of travels and other works.

"The Araby Maid."
in handwriting of the author, The Rev. J. E. Torrey Anderson.

The Araby Maid.

Away on the wings of the wind she flies
Like a thing of life and light, -
And she bounds beneath the Eastern skies,
And the beauty of Eastern night.

Why so fast flies the bark thro' the ocean's foam,
Why wings it so speedy a flight?
Tis an Araby Maid who hath left her home,
To fly with her Christian knight.

She hath left her sire and her native land,
The land which from childhood she trod,
And hath sworn by the pledge of her beautified hand
To worship the Christians' God.

Then away - away oh swift be thy flight,
It were death one moment's delay,
For behind there is many a blade glancing bright.
Thy away - away - away.

They are safe in the land where love is divine,
In the land of the free and the brave,
They have knelt at the foot of the holy shrine
And naught can sever them now but the grave.

He was noted for his beneficence. From materials supplied by his family, I contributed a memoir of him to the public journals. Dr Beattie was born at Dalton, in Annandale, on the 24th February 1793 ; he studied at the University of Edinburgh, and graduated as a doctor of medicine in 1818. From 1822, till the period of his death, he resided chiefly in London. In his death I lost one of my most attached friends.

My excursions in quest of Scottish bardic literature, and of materials for lives of the minstrels, were continued about three years. At Dundee I visited the Rev. Thomas Gordon Torry Anderson, incumbent of St Paul's Episcopal Church. He supplied me with a copy, in his own handwriting, of his song "The Araby Maid," of which he also composed the music ; a facsimile accompanies the present volume. Mr Torry Anderson died on the 20th June 1856, aged fifty-one. At Dundee, I received from a relative of my own, to whom they were bequeathed, the copious MSS. of Mrs Agnes Lyon, *née* L'Amy, author of "Neil Gow's Farewell to Whisky" and other songs. Mrs Lyon died in September 1840, at the age of seventy-eight. Her husband, Dr James Lyon, minister of Glamis, died in 1838.

By his widow I was favoured with the MSS. of George Allan, author of the song "Is your war-pipe asleep?" usually assigned to the Ettrick Shepherd. Allan died in 1835, at the age of thirty. James

Home, postmaster at Rachan Mill, Peeblesshire, composed the song "O saw ye this sweet bonnie lassie o' mine?" which also has been ascribed to the Ettrick bard. I made known this estimable and retiring bard; he died in September 1868, at the age of sixty-four. To my care have been permanently entrusted the poetical MSS. of Mrs Margaret Maxwell Inglis, an accomplished gentlewoman, who closed a life chequered by misfortune, on the 21st December 1843, aged sixty-nine. Several of her songs are included in the "Minstrel."

With Captain Charles Gray, of the Royal Marines, author of "Lays and Lyrics," I enjoyed an intimate acquaintance; he was born at Anstruther, in 1782, and died at Edinburgh, in April 1851. "The Black-e'd Lassie" and other songs from his pen appear in the "Minstrel."

Among the bards whom I visited, in connection with the "Minstrel," one of the most ingenious was John Crawford. In a duodecimo volume entitled "Doric Lays," he has exhibited true lyric power; several of his compositions, such as "My auld wifie, Jean," exhibit a romantic tenderness. Crawford was a house-painter at Alloa, and though he continued an operative, his genius admitted him into the better circles. But he fell into social irregularities, lost his health, became irritable, and latterly exhibited symptoms of cerebral disease. I visited him in September 1873, and acquainted the parish

authorities with his condition. My warning was unheeded, and on the 13th December he perished by his own hand; he was in his fifty-seventh year. I contributed a short memoir of him, to accompany his "Memorials of the Parish of Alloa," published posthumously. Crawford was related to Mary Campbell, the "Highland Mary" of Robert Burns, and he bore a personal resemblance to the Ayrshire bard. With better opportunities he might have attained some literary eminence; he will be remembered by his songs.

I completed the "Modern Scottish Minstrel" in six octavo volumes. The first volume appeared in April 1855; the last at Midsummer 1857.* The work contains upwards of 200 memoirs. By the first edition I realised a profit of £50; for the copyright I afterwards received £20. In 1870 the work was reprinted by Mr Nimmo in a popular form; and it has attained an extensive sale both in Britain and America.

On completing the "Modern Scottish Minstrel," I was led to project a similar undertaking, but with a wider range. Among the numerous collections of British hymns, few presented the compositions

* Volumes V. and VI. were emphatically condemned by Mr William Burns. He censured the sixth volume on the ground that I had introduced in it the songs of Dr Charles Mackay, who was, he asserted, "author of libels upon Scotland;" while the preceding volume met with his unqualified disapprobation, as it contained a memoir and the songs of a poet who had written the life of one who had, he said, "sneered at the nationality of his native country!" See "Scotland and her Calumniators;" Glasgow, 1858, pp. 33, 34.

in the precise words of the writers, while the origin of many sacred songs held in general esteem was unknown. I proposed to edit a hymn-book which should contain the genuine text of the hymns, with short memoirs of the writers. In 1859 I issued a small volume, entitled "The Sacred Minstrel," containing about 200 hymns, with biographical sketches. The favourable reception of this effort induced me to enter on the preparation of a larger hymnological work as a permanent authority, both as to genuineness of text and matter of authorship. My friend, Mr William Euing of Glasgow, possessed a collection of about 400 works in hymnology, which he placed at my disposal. These I carefully inspected, and when I had completed the task, Mr Euing authorised me to procure at his expense, every other work essential to my purpose. I now made the acquaintance of Mr Anthony Webb of Bath, the greatest hymn-book collector in the kingdom, and on his invitation I proceeded to Bath to examine his collection.

Mr A. C. Hobart Seymour of Bristol, who had for half a century been engaged in hymnological studies, and Mr C. D. Hardcastle of Keighley, whose knowledge in every department of hymnology is, I believe, unrivalled, actively assisted me. But authentic materials for the memoirs of the hymn-writers could not always be obtained either in the library or from correspondents. That ingenious hymnist, Mr Daniel

Sedgwick, bookseller, Sun Street, Bishopgate, afforded me particulars regarding certain writers ; and I experienced much courteous attention from living hymn-writers, and the representatives of others. For biographical particulars I, however, mainly depended on researches made during the progress of my several tours throughout the kingdom, from 1863 to 1866.

A certain class of hymn-writers desired to remain unknown. Charlotte Elliott, author of the well-known hymn, "Just as I am," would not sanction any allusion to her history. Several female hymn-writers had, in dying, begged that their names might not be associated with their hymns. Respecting some authors known only by their family designations, I obtained particulars by procuring the principal directories, including the "Clergy List," and writing to all likely persons of the names. Certain hymns, used by all the evangelical denominations, I found to have been composed by Unitarians, such as—"Nearer, my God, to Thee," by Mrs Sarah Flower Adams ; "Come, Thou Fount of every blessing," by Robert Robinson of Cambridge ; and "In the cross of Christ I glory," by Sir John Bowring. Hymns generally used in the family and Sunday school are composed by authors not much known, such as—"Here we suffer grief and pain," by Thomas Bilby ; "There is a happy land," by Andrew Young ; "I think when I read that sweet story," by Mrs Jemina Luke ; and "Around the throne of God in heaven," by Mrs Anne Shepherd.

The ode on prayer, beginning, "Go when the morning shineth," ascribed to various writers, is by Mrs Jane Simpson of Glasgow; "Breast the wave, Christian," by Mr Joseph Stammers; "Courage, brother, do not stumble," by Dr Norman Macleod; "One there is above all others," by Marianne Nunn; "We speak of the realms of the blessed," by Mrs Elizabeth Mills; "Himself hath done it," by Christina Forsyth; "There is life for a look," by Anna Matilda Hull; and "We have no home but heaven," by Miss Mennel.

My larger collection, the result of nine years' research, appeared in 1867, with the title "Lyra Britannica," and in the form of a very thick octavo volume. The authors, 232 in number, are arranged alphabetically, brief memoirs accompanying their compositions. Several original compositions were sent me, which, though not suitable for a hymn-book, seemed worthy of publication. So I issued another work, entitled "The Golden Sheaf," containing poetical contributions from eighty-four writers. To this volume my friend, Mr Edward J. Reed, C.B., then chief constructor of the navy, and now M.P., contributed a short essay, "On the Poetic Art." Mr Reed indulged in copious observations on the poetry of Tennyson, and on the peculiar genius of Philip James Bailey, as displayed in "Festus." Soon after the appearance of "The Golden Sheaf," Mr Bailey acknowledged a copy I sent him in these terms:

“INISFAIL COTTAGE, ST PETER’S VALLEY,
“JERSEY, *November 12, 1867.*

“MY DEAR SIR,—Accept my best thanks for your most agreeable and interesting collection of poems. Among the contributors are several I had not known previously; and I owe to them, and to you, much pleasure from the new acquaintance. Mr Reed’s essay is, of course, as interesting to me as it can probably be to any one. What he says so generously of the imagery of ‘Festus’ I shall not dispute. But because abundant in image it does not follow that it is deficient in doctrine, in scope of story, or in action. These latter characteristics Mr Reed has, rather pointedly, overlooked. And herein is the difference between ‘Festus’ and such writers as Alexander Smith. In his poems, there is neither grandeur of outline nor depth of thought. In ‘Festus,’ I think it has been shown by others, there is both this and something more. There is entirety and unity. On some other points I differ from Mr Reed. There neither is, nor ever can be, a great poem which has for its chief excellence a moral character, or is, in its essential purpose, mainly moral. The sphere of morality is too definite, too didactic; it trenches too much upon pulpit duties, to be of the true character of poetry. The ‘Iliad,’ for instance, has many morals: the sin of Paris and Helen, and its consequences; the death of good old Priam, of Achilles, of Hector; the destruction of a state forsaken even by the gods, and innumerable other disasters either expressed or implied—all bear their morals incidentally, but it is not a moral poem. The sin of Paolo and Francesca da Rimini is treated in the like manner—incidentally. We do not look for expanded sermons upon texts, however true and terrible. The poet is more than a moralist; nevertheless, the poem of which Mr Reed speaks so highly has its charm, and this consists not in its morality. We have here effectively more; so indeed the incident recorded by St John of the woman taken in adultery, but rather in its blending the spirit of chivalry with that of Christian morality upon the subject. It has undoubtedly a lofty ethic tone, unsurpassed as such in poetry. But it cannot be called a great *poem*. Situations do not make a great poem.

No one, I am sure, wishes more than I do that Mr Tennyson would write a great poem, or any poem, which, embracing these Idylls as episodes of one great action, should exhibit a work which could boast both unity of design and wholeness of effect. But Mr Reed is as well aware as I am, or as the author is, that the present congeries of fragments known as the 'Idylls of the King' have neither the one characteristic nor the other. There is a minor matter to which I wish for one moment to refer. Mr Reed has cited the two first lines of a passage, 'Star unto star,' etc., and proceeds, a page or so further on, to say, 'There is neither reason nor truth in the idea,' etc., etc., but add the two following lines, and I very much doubt whether the reader would agree with him. I have chosen to consider Christ as the Redeemer not only of this world, but of *the* world in its largest sense, τοῦ κόσμου (John i. 29). 'In judging and redeeming worlds,' He says, 'is passed mine everlasting Being.' The name of Christ is the symbol of redemption. It is this which forms the password of every world to its Creator; the confession by all created life, of its imperfection, its sinfulness, its recovery and return to God through Christ. To halve a thought in this way, and judge the whole by only one member, is what I scarcely expected to see done by any but a professional critic, from whom a poet naturally, like charity, beareth all things and endureth all things.—Believe me, very sincerely yours,

"PHILIP JAS. BAILEY."

Having transmitted Mr Bailey's letter to Mr Reed, I received the following reply :

"CORBEIL, FRANCE, *November 31, 1867.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am extremely obliged by your kindness in letting me see Mr Bailey's letter of the 12th. I am painfully aware that my essay does no sort of justice to the larger features of his great poem. I did not even refer to them, merely using 'Festus' as an illustration of abundant and wonderful imagery produced at an early age, which was all that it occurred to me to do. This I now certainly regret, especially as I find

that my poor remarks have come to the notice of the author of 'Festus'—a man whose genius is to me an almost miraculous object, and whose poem I consider to be far, far above such poems as the spasmodic school (not a bad designation) has produced. I have never doubted that 'Festus' has a great comprehensive scheme embodied in it, or that it is a marvellous poem in other aspects; for some cause or other, probably, most probably, from my own inability or indolence, it has *not* impressed me as a great, perfect, and rounded whole; whereas Tennyson's little 'Idylls of the King,' although in form and name fragmentary, have in a most marked manner left a wholeness and completeness of effect upon my mind; and I cannot help thinking that this is greatly due to the art of the artist who wrote them. What I probably ought to have done, and what I would most gladly do, if I had the opportunity again, is this: I ought to make it clear, in referring to 'Festus,' that when I leave it I do not wish to imply that it is only a mass of wondrous imagery, but that I leave it because the very greatness of its scope and magnitude as a whole forbid me to attempt even to employ it as an illustration of my argument. I have not 'Festus' here, so that I cannot refer to the connection of the passage, 'Star unto star speaks light,' etc. But any other image almost would have equally well answered the purpose of my argument, which merely was that the manufacture, if I may so speak, of an image, is not as a rule a difficult mental operation. I am sorry that I should have happened to select an image, in which a profound meaning (now explained by Mr Bailey in his note) was involved, and escaped my notice. When I return to England I will set myself to re-read 'Festus' thoroughly and carefully, and in some form or other will endeavour to repair what I do feel to be the most unmerited and really unintentional slight, which I seem to have placed upon that great work. No undertaking could possibly be more to my feeling, for I can assure you 'Festus' is, in my judgment, the most wonderful product of genius among modern works. I am glad to say that, defective as my poor essay may be, the notice taken of 'Festus' has been the occasion of inducing several of my own

correspondents at least to go to the book, for verification of my praise; but, then, my correspondents are not, as a rule, people to whom it is familiar or even known. I am sorry to observe that Mr Bailey, in his letter, wholly mistakes my argument as to the relation of moral effects to poetry. It is to wholly misconceive my position, to imagine, that I contend that poetry should primarily, or necessarily, or even at all (unless incidentally or by way of supplement) enforce moral lessons. On the contrary, in my enumeration of the essentials of a great poem, I made no mention whatever of this. What I do say is that, in the 'Idylls,' Tennyson has given us the real essentials, and something *more*, for he 'has infused a timely and lofty moral lesson' into them. That is all I say.

"If you could persuade Mr Bailey to glance over my essay again, I feel persuaded that he would exonerate me from the supposition that I have been so foolish as to say, that the great object of the poet should be to produce moral discourses. I should like to stand somewhat higher in the estimation of so remarkable and great a man as Mr Bailey, than would be possible in that case. Let me repeat that I do very much regret that I should have left my allusions to 'Festus' in so unsatisfactory a form; and say that I probably fell into the fault from having honestly endeavoured to express my sense of the wonderful and beautiful character of the imagery of that work. If other plea be needed, pray let me say, that with many thousand tons of *armour-plates* continually weighing upon my mind, and so many huge ships steaming about in the *offing*, it is rather hard to be as faithful and true as one ought to be, even to commonplace works of thinkers; and how much harder is it not to be true to the author of such a book as 'Festus.'—Believe me, very truly yours,

E. J. REED."

Mr Bailey, to whom I sent Mr Reed's letter, replied thus:

"INISFAIL COTTAGE, ST PETER'S VALLEY,

"JERSEY, *December* 12, 1867.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have read Mr Reed's letter, and I have re-

read his essay, and need hardly say there is much in both that I heartily agree with. My remarks on one point might, I confess, have led Mr Reed to infer that I had misapprehended one of his main positions; and for this, as it was clearly my own oversight, I have to express regret. I think, indeed, we coincide upon all essentials; and as I find great difficulty in discussing questions of this kind by letter, and have a very strong repugnance to write much about myself, I will simply ask to rectify one error into which Mr Reed, very excusably it may be added, has fallen, namely, that 'Festus,' as it is—and I hope he has the edition of '64—was published twenty-eight years ago; the fact being that the 'Festus' of that period did not contain, I suppose, more than a third of the poem as it at present stands. Every successive edition, since the time it originally appeared, has received additions, and been subjected to alterations. I have worked at this poem all my life continually, if not continuously: am still working at it, and probably always shall be while I live—here adding, there condensing, mostly, I trust where altering, amending. As regards the particular passage, somewhat enlarged upon by Mr Reed, I agree with him it was unfortunately selected, because I feel sure he would not willingly do an unjust thing, and that his partial citation of the thought was accidental; seeing, as I admit, that there are others against which, at least, I could not have taken so forcible an exception, as in the instance alluded to. Still, although I am aware that Mr Reed was not writing an essay upon 'Festus'—and I am now referring rather to the *general question* than to the precise point at issue—I confess I felt myself a little hurt, so sensitive and *exigéants* are bards, that, speaking of a poem which has a certain vastness of scope, greatness of argument, variety of learning, doctrine, character, artistic treatment, more or less unity and loftiness of design, continuity of story, and wholeness of effect, a critic should have passed all these by to disparage it on that account in which it most excels, namely, its imagery. This, though abundant enough, and in some cases perhaps even over luxuriant, I do not know that any one has shown to be inapplicable or artificial. However, I am of course becoming

daily wiser and more sparing. But neither is this power of producing imagery a licence or a manufacture. It is a high and sacred gift. The poet by this seems indeed to enlarge the limits of creation, and gives to Nature and her works a grace, an animation, and at times a significance which they did not before possess. When Mr Reed calls manufacture the foresight of the prophet, he may set up a limited liability company for the preparation of poetical imagery. But Mr Reed is not so bad as his doctrine. That he has the poetical faculty is evident, and that he strove to write as ill as he was able, in the specimen he has given us in his essay, I am not disinclined to believe. But so far his illustration throws no light on his position.

"I fear I am wearying you, but I will risk a few words more. As regards Mr Tennyson himself, it would be very ungracious in me to say anything that might seem depreciatory of his many real excellences; for these, I flatter myself, I highly value him. A man may be a poet of a very high order, and not have written a great poem. Horace, for instance, among ancients. But when Mr Reed invites me to pronounce, along with him, the 'Idylls of the King' to be a great poem, I frankly confess I cannot go with him. I cannot even call the book a poem at all. It is a volume of short poems accurately and appropriately entitled by the author. For these fragments are more or less full, or half-lengths, of Geraint, Merlin, Lancelot, Vivyen, Elaine, Guinevere, and others; by the side of the king they are only '*eidyllia*,' little pictures, miniatures, statuettes. They have very little indeed to do with each other; some, nothing at all, very little with the king, except the last. The only idea common to them all is the idea of the court of King Arthur. How can these be called *a poem*? They may yet, for aught we know, be intended to serve as episodes or what not, along with the 'Mort D'Arthur,' of *the* poem Mr T. has been so often urged to write, and which I wish he would. But at present, I repeat, respecting as I do the author's endowments, to my mind they are simply fragments, segments, if you will; and Mr Reed makes use, in his description, of a contradiction in terms. At the same time, just to touch upon another branch of the subject, let me

say I am not unaware of the difficulties of the story, which, saying nothing of Spenser, whose poem is altogether of another cast, doubtless operated as a deterrent not to Dryden only, but to Milton, both of whom appear to have turned this matter over in their minds. Arthur should be the subject of an epic, but unfortunately the most interesting points of his career are connected with his dishonour and his end; whereas it is essential to the idea of the epic that the reader should leave the hero, both living and triumphant. Hence our repeated disappointment. Nevertheless, I wish Mr Tennyson would give us a 'Round Table' of some sort, if only to look at; let those sit at it who were worthy. We should be pleased enough, if not with an epic, with a narrative poem, not caring so much for an ambitious title, as for a substantial result. A poet ought to be to a certain extent a critic; but a mind, *par eminence*, analytic will never be eminently poetic.

"Imagine John Mill writing poetry. We have a specimen of Aristotle's poetry: it is very good *in its way*, but we are rather glad there is no more of it! That a poet requires a certain degree of the analytic faculty, and that he is all the better of a logical as well as a classical training, and for everything else he understands or goes through in this life, is doubtless true. It is also true, I opine, that a *critic* who, with similar advantages, possesses likewise an appreciable amount of the poetic faculty, may be looked upon as an object of great congratulation among the literary community. 'Empedocles' I think very dreary reading; about as much so as the work of the original of that ilk. Alexander Smith was at most a mere copyist, who pillaged Tennyson, and others I could name, without conscience. I dislike his practice, and detest the school to which he belonged.—Believe me, very sincerely yours, PHILIP JAS. BAILEY."

These letters which, through my instrumentality, passed between two most ingenious persons, may conclude, not quite inappropriately, my researches and experiences "among the poets."

CHAPTER IX.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS.

“*Amor patriæ ratione valentior.*” —*Ovid.*

My inquiries into the lives of the poets when preparing the “*Modern Scottish Minstrel*,” led me to regret that in Scotland there existed no society or fund for the relief of literary persons in circumstances of indigence. In the summer of 1854 the subject was forcibly impressed on my attention by the discovery that Dr Thomas Dick, the eminent astronomical writer, was then, at the age of eighty, in a condition of poverty. Communicating with Dr Dick, I offered to try to secure him a pension on the civil list; in his reply, he showed me that, while his works had commanded a large sale both in Britain and America, he had, on account of having sold his copyrights, not shared the advantage. Fearing he might be in difficulties, I communicated with the secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, and procured an application schedule, which I forwarded to him. Dr Dick acknowledged receipt of the schedule in these terms :

“MY DEAR SIR,—I was favoured with yours of the 15th, along with a schedule from the Royal Literary Fund, and a letter

from the secretary. I return you many thanks for your very kind and friendly attention in my behalf, and am almost sorry you should have put yourself to so much trouble and expense. . . . My income has always been small, and I have had a good deal to do in maintaining and educating several orphans—my grandchildren, whom Providence left to our care; but by exercising the strictest economy, we have hitherto been enabled to move onward without incurring debt, and at present we do not feel ourselves in that state which would require relief from the Literary Fund. At the same time, I have no objection whatever to receive a small pension from Government, should the Premier think proper to bestow it. It would tend to make matters move on with more smoothness than hitherto, and enable us to enjoy some comforts and luxuries which at present we must forego.”

A memorial to the Premier on Dr Dick's behalf, to which I obtained the names of many eminent and influential persons, was, at my request, forwarded by Sir Thomas Makdougall Brisbane, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, to Lord Panmure, for presentation. But Lord Panmure, who was then in Scotland, mislaid the memorial; and in obtaining signatures to another, much time was lost. In February 1855, Lord Duncan, who represented the county of Forfar, and whose influence I had entreated on Dr Dick's behalf, informed me that he had secured him from the Treasury an annual allowance of £10. Representing the boon as totally inadequate, I made a renewed effort for the pension, and in May I had the satisfaction of informing the aged philosopher that Lord Palmerston had placed his name on the civil list for £50. He was most grateful for the boon, but

was not long spared to enjoy it ; he died on the 29th July 1857. The perusal of his works had led David Livingstone to become a missionary, and other less notable persons had through his writings derived serious and salutary impressions.* I had promised that if I survived him, I would endeavour to get his pension continued to Mrs Dick. I succeeded in this, through the good offices of Lord Duncan, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Sir John Ogilvy, Bart., and Mr Charles Cowan, Members of Parliament.

I now consulted with some literary friends as to the practicability of forming a society which might become at once a centre of literary intercourse, and a source whence less fortunate cultivators of learning might derive help, permanent or temporary. One of the first with whom I took counsel was Dr Dick ; he warmly approved my scheme, and augured its success.

I consulted two brothers, Robert and Alexander Bald, the former eminent in science, the latter remarkable in combining strict business habits with the cultivation of literary tastes. Robert Bald was bordering on fourscore. Exercising a wide benevolence, he warmly assured me that he knew of no association more wanted, and which was more likely to confer

* Dr Dick was born at Dundee in 1774, and educated for the ministry of the Secession Church. Afterwards devoting himself to scholastic pursuits, he taught a school till he was fifty-three. Thereafter he retired to Broughty Ferry, near Dundee, where he derived his chief means of subsistence by leasing his cottage to sea-bathers. He informed me that his entire copyrights had not brought him more than £1000, while his publishers had obtained from his works a profit of at least twenty times that amount.

real and lasting benefit. Alexander Bald was equally hopeful that the project would obtain support, cordially approved its purpose, and undertook, on its formation to induce his literary friends to place their names upon the roll.*

By Dr Thomas Buchanan, minister of Methven, the enterprise was also approved. Familiar with the Highlands and Highland bards, Dr Buchanan assured me that the proposed institution would be supported, and be a source of comfort in northern and upland districts.†

The society was named "The Scottish Literary Institute," and the first meeting was held on the 22d June 1855. The place of meeting—my official quarters as chaplain of Stirling Castle—was not inappropriate, for the structure had been reared, and afterwards occupied, by the ingenious and poetical Earl of Stirling.‡ The first meeting of the Institute was attended by the poet Henry Scott Riddell, Alexander Bald, and six or eight other persons. The following resolutions were adopted as a constitution :

"*First*, That the society be designated The Scottish Literary Institute.

* Of these two ingenious and most estimable brothers, Alexander died on the 21st October 1859, aged seventy-six, and Robert on the 28th December 1861. They were born and died at Alloa in Clackmannanshire.

† Dr Thomas Buchanan died on the 24th August 1859, in his fifty-eighth year. An eminent Celtic scholar, he executed poetical translations from the Gaelic poets for the "Modern Scottish Minstrel."

‡ Argyle House, Stirling, of which the right wing formed the quarters of the garrison chaplain prior to 1858, was built by the Earl of Stirling in 1635, and formed his autumnal residence till his death in 1640. After his death, the structure was purchased by the Earl of Argyle; it now belongs to the War Department.

“Second, That the society shall consist of cultivators of literature connected with Scotland, with a view to their social intercourse and mutual co-operation, and in order to provide a fund for the relief of literary persons in circumstances of indigence.

“Third, That the Institute shall hold monthly meetings during a session of eight months, and that papers on literary topics be read at these meetings.

“Fourth, That an annual general meeting of members shall be held, to elect office-bearers, and for other business.

“Fifth, That an annual subscription, to be afterwards fixed, shall be paid by every ordinary member.”

A provisional council was appointed to make the society known, and to convene a meeting at Edinburgh. At that meeting it was determined that the annual subscription should be one guinea, and that the society should be established at Edinburgh. As our chief purpose was a benevolent one, I recommended for appointment as secretary, with a salary, Mr William Anderson, author of “The Scottish Nation,” a gentleman whose entire career had been chequered by misfortune. With Mr Anderson I became acquainted when I was collecting materials for the “Minstrel ;” and the narrative of his mishaps, which he sent me as materials for a memoir, had interested me warmly on his behalf. The salary promised him was £10 only ; we proposed to increase it to £20, and its acceptance did not imply the occupation of any portion of his time, for, as honorary secretary, I undertook to discharge the whole of the secretarial duties.

The Institute obtained support and countenance.

During the first session we enrolled as members the Hon. Charles Baillie, afterwards Lord Jerviswoode, Professor Blackie, Professor Shank More, the Rev. Dr Jamieson, afterwards Moderator of the General Assembly, Mr Sheriff Barclay of Perth, Dr Robert Carruthers, and other leading persons. At the monthly meetings papers were read by Mr George Gilfillan, Dr James Donaldson, Mr William Anderson, Mr Henry Scott Riddell, the Rev. Dr Gardner, and others.

At the annual meeting, in November 1856, Dr Dick proposed that the society should be opened with prayer ; the public proceedings were followed by a dinner in the Café Royal, Edinburgh, under the presidentship of Mr Robert Bald. Prior to this period Mr William Burns of Glasgow, and his friend Mr Mitchell, had offered themselves as members, and been added to the roll. These gentlemen assured me that by adopting Glasgow as the society's joint headquarters, certain opulent merchants of that city would become contributors to the fund. So I was led to support the proposition that our monthly meetings should be held at Glasgow and Edinburgh alternately ; it was the beginning of the end.

The second session commenced auspiciously. We enrolled among other eminent persons Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., Mr William Stirling of Keir, M.P., Mr Baillie Cochrane of Lamington, M.P., Sir James Anderson, M.P., and

Mr Walter Buchanan, M.P. A paper was read by Mr Buchanan, at the meeting in April 1857, "On the Parliamentary Representation of the Scottish Universities." This paper, which embodied a proposal to admit graduates of Scottish colleges to political privileges, similar to those enjoyed by members of the English universities, being generally commended, was printed by the council.

The subject of university reform was warmly entertained. At the May meeting, the Institute authorised the transmission of copies of Mr Buchanan's paper, and of another by Professor Blackie, to all the members of the Legislature; and it was agreed to consult the Lord Advocate as to whether a deputation of our members sent to London, might tend to advance the progress of a measure which he had prepared.

The Lord Advocate, Mr Moncreiff, on being waited upon, warmly approved of the proposed deputation, and offered to convene the Scottish representatives at his chambers in London, to hear a statement of our views. It was therefore resolved, at our meeting in June, that Mr William Anderson and myself, as joint-secretaries, should proceed to London at the cost of the society, and that members should be invited to accompany us who were either resident in London, or were willing to proceed thither at their own expense.

The deputation, secured in this manner, consisted of twelve persons, among whom were Sir James

Stuart Menteth, Bart., Mr Baillie Cochrane of Lamington, Mr Walter Buchanan, M.P., Mr Charles Cowan, M.P., Mr James Dodds, and Dr Charles Mackay. The deputation held a conference with the Scottish Members of Parliament, at the Lord Advocate's apartments, in Spring Gardens. There was a considerable attendance of M.P.'s, and the deputation was introduced by Mr Charles Cowan, M.P. for Edinburgh. Mr Buchanan, M.P., spoke on the subject of university representation; and I referred to the importance of founding new chairs, and better endowing the old; also as to the necessity of providing retiring allowances for aged and infirm professors.

An association existed in Scotland, having the special object of promoting university reform, but its executive had hitherto lacked vigour. Some months after the Institute's proceedings at London, in July, they organised a public meeting at Edinburgh, under the presidentship of Lord Chancellor Campbell, when resolutions, urging the importance of a legislative measure, were supported by persons representing all shades of civil and ecclesiastical opinions. During the next session of Parliament, a bill, founded on that sketched by Mr Moncreiff, was, by the Lord Advocate (Inglis), introduced into the House of Commons; it passed both Houses, and received the royal sanction on the 2d August 1858.*

* The origin of the movement for the reformation of the Scottish universities, is due to Professor Blackie. About ten years before the movement took tangible shape and form, he agitated the subject in a series of publications.

The efforts of the Institute, in the cause of university reform, attracted general notice, and in the autumn of 1857 I was privileged to nominate, as ordinary members, the Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart., Major-General Sir Henry R. Ferguson Davie, Bart., M.P., Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, Bart., Sir Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., Sir James Campbell of Stracathro, with several persons eminent in literature. At the next annual meeting, which was held at Glasgow, on the 5th November, Mr Baillie Cochrane delivered, as president, an inaugural address. To the special objects of the society, he referred in these words :

“ Our objects are of a twofold nature—first, to promote literary purposes, upon the recognised principle that union is force ; by drawing together those who are wandering about in the paths of literature and science, so that each, in his individual capacity, may render back to others some of the humanities which he receives from them ; and also to obtain for men of literary pursuits those material comforts, which even genius cannot afford to despise, since it has ceased to be a condition of success in the craft, that an author should live in the two extremities of civilisation—the garret and the cellar—to develop in the republic of letters its own peculiar communism, the community of intellect ; and if, on such an occasion, I may be permitted to make use of a political expression, to promote free trade in literature, ‘ by,’ in the language of our prospectus, ‘ entering into correspondence with learned individuals and societies in foreign countries, for the purpose of literary inquiry and information.’ This is one class of objects we propose ; but there is another—

‘ To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,
To raise the genius and to mend the heart.’

It is our project to promote that interest, than which there is none greater, a benevolent interest in others, to bestow our grateful sympathies on those who, from the prodigality of their mind's wealth, have so frequently enriched the poor soil of a desert heart—to cheer the solitude and alleviate the physical sufferings of those whose genius, during the sunshine of their lives, has enlivened many a lonely hour, and lightened many a painful reflection. We have heard much, we cannot hear too much, of the sorrows of great cities. It did not require the powerful pen of Dr Guthrie to deepen the sad impression, which the minds of all who reflect must feel who walk abroad; but, I do believe, that of all these sorrows, the most severe are those of the refined and educated,

‘ Dearly bought the hidden treasure
Finer feelings can bestow;
Hearts that knew the sweetest pleasure
Thrill with deepest throbs of woe.’

Remember how sensitive is genius; how delicate are its perceptions; how exquisitely fine its instincts! The bold, the daring, and the self-reliant, fight the battle of life and wrestle with fate; but those whose lives have been passed in retirement, whose temperaments magnify the evils under which they are suffering, how can the energies of such as these suffice for the sad deficiencies of the hour? And how can there be a charity more blessed to the giver, as well as to the receiver, than that which, from its very nature, is charity which is given in secret, and which is rewarded by the still small voice of affectionate gratitude?”

These sentiments were cordially re-echoed by Mr Buchanan, M.P., Professor Macquorn Rankine, and others. In the evening about forty members and their friends dined together in the George Hotel, Glasgow, Mr Baillie Cochrane being in the chair. Among the speakers was Professor Blackie, who delivered an important speech on university reform.

At the annual meeting Lord Campbell, who had joined the society at Midsummer, was elected president. He acknowledged the compliment by sending me, for the society's library, his "Lives of the Chancellors," and promising that, if circumstances suited, he would, at our next anniversary, deliver an inaugural address. Lord Brougham about the same time accepted an honorary membership, and sent a complete edition of his works. As honorary members, we also enrolled the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Mr Disraeli. Bishop Tait of London, now Archbishop of Canterbury, in accepting honorary membership, sent, for my personal acceptance, two volumes of his works.

The design of a seal for the society's use, submitted by Mr, now Sir Noël Paton, one of the members, was, in December, cordially approved and adopted by the council; it represented the Genius of Scotland holding a garland in one hand, and in the other bearing the torch of hope.

In upholding Scottish interests, the promoters of the Vindication Society were not always forgetful of their own. On his election as a member of the Institute, Mr Mitchell had requested me to nominate him "foreign secretary," that, in this office, he might advocate the society's claims in the North of Europe; and as he did not on this occasion propose to receive assistance from the fund,* I supported his election.

* See *supra*, pp. 135, 136.

I met him in London in July ; he had, I understood, come up on other business, and, in inviting him to accompany the members of the Institute to the Lord Advocate's chambers, I did not dream that I was thereby exposing the society to a heavy claim.

It was a rule of the institution that no accounts should be discharged by the treasurer, without the written sanction of one or other of the secretaries and an auditor ; but Mr Mitchell, on returning to Scotland, called upon the treasurer, Mr Sutherland, and requested payment of £20, as the cost of his London journey. Mr Sutherland paid the money. Doubtless, in accepting it, Mr Mitchell conceived that, as foreign secretary and representing the Continent, he was entitled to be reimbursed with the two other secretaries, whose duties and field of operation were more circumscribed. He might perhaps have thought that a charge of £20 for personal outlay against a benevolent fund was somewhat excessive : in reality it equalled the charges of both the acting secretaries ; but Mr Mitchell's views on subjects of Scottish philanthropy and patriotism were considerably eccentric.

The council of the Institute, which administered its affairs, met in October, to examine the treasurer's accounts. Then I was informed, for the first time, of Mr Mitchell's claim, and that it had been paid. All the proceedings connected with it were severely commented on, but it was deemed perilous, at this

early stage of the society's existence, to engage in controversy with any of the office-bearers. I therefore moved that Mr Mitchell should not be allowed a second opportunity of making a charge upon the fund, and that the office of foreign secretary should be filled by Professor Blackie and Dr James Donaldson of the Edinburgh High School.

The annual meeting, held at Glasgow, in November 1857, approved a new list of office-bearers, recommended by the council, omitting Mr Mitchell's name. At the Edinburgh meeting, held in December, nothing occurred to vary the usual routine, for Mr Mitchell still believed himself in office. He learned soon afterwards of his supersession, and insisted, menacingly, that I should restore his name. I declined to interfere.

The Institute met at Glasgow in January. Mr Mitchell attended, and when I read the minute of the former meeting, he vehemently pronounced it inaccurate. The proceedings recorded were so immaterial, that the cancelling of the record could not in any degree affect the society's interest or my own, but being unprepared for a mode of attack then new to me, I resisted Mr Mitchell's imputation with considerable warmth. Amidst the altercation which followed, Mr Burns addressed the assembly. He said : " When two of the office-bearers disagreed about so simple a matter as the proceedings of a meeting, it was painfully obvious that the business of the insti-

tution was conducted imperfectly. This, indeed, might be less due to the office-bearers, than to lack of proper organisation in the society itself. The society was a new one, and he apprehended that many of the laws had not been maturely considered. To this subject he would not advert further, as it was not before the house, but he believed he would meet the views of the majority, by moving the appointment of a committee to revise the constitution." To this proposal, aptly framed, and appropriately introduced, it was difficult to offer an objection, more especially as the views of "the vindicators" were known only to myself. But I insisted that a special committee should be appointed to test the accuracy of the minute, which Mr Mitchell had impugned. That committee, under the presidency of Mr Sheriff Steele of Lanarkshire, assembled a few days afterwards, when I produced a certificate, from those present at the December meeting, testifying as to the accuracy of the record. Mr Mitchell, who was present, expressed his willingness to admit its accuracy, if I would bind myself not to prosecute him for his former denial!

The reorganisation committee, named in consequence of the statement by Mr Mitchell, which he afterwards withdrew, operated actively. Under Mr Burns' direction, the committee saw no reason for Mr Mitchell's exclusion from the office of foreign secretary, and reponed him. The office-bearers

elected at the annual meeting were superseded, and others named as their successors. The laws one after another were altered; when it was proposed to dispense with the benevolent fund, I withdrew from the secretaryship. To prevent my return, it was ruled on Mr Burns' motion, that of the two home secretaries one should be resident at Glasgow, and the other at Edinburgh. To all these alterations, my former colleague, Mr Anderson, cordially assented; and Mr Mitchell proposed that his salary should be doubled. The latter arrangement was not proceeded with, and as Mr Anderson ventured to complain, he was informed that his services as a secretary would be dispensed with. In the spring of 1859, he visited me at Stirling, and detailed the narrative of his wrongs. I befriended him a little afterwards, but he had aided, from a perverted notion of his own interest, in altering the constitution of a society mainly intended to be helpful to those who, like himself, had cultivated letters under difficulty.*

What "the vindicators" intended ultimately to do with the Scottish Literary Institute can only be conjectured. When the originators of the Scottish Rights' movement proceeded in 1853 to found the Vindication Society, they included among their imaginary wrongs certain real grievances, of which the

* This industrious but unfortunate writer died at London, on the 2d August 1866, aged sixty-one.

most prominent was the unsatisfactory condition of the universities.* A reference to actual grievances had given a start to their society, blinding many as to the real intents of the project; and as the subject of university reform had already been taken up by the Institute, it was not difficult, as a first step, to convert it into an association for university purposes. At the annual meeting, held on the 9th November 1858, Mr Burns proposed that the benevolent fund should be withdrawn, and that the revenues should be applied in providing prizes for students in the universities, and in public schools; also in establishing bursaries and endowing professorships.

Mr Burns was not ignorant that the society's funds, which had never exceeded £100, could not practically avail in endowing professorships or scholarships. But two objects were accomplished—the society's funds were no longer connected with a charitable purpose, and the original administrators were disposed of. One product of the Scottish Rights' movement, conducted by Mr Burns, the West of Scotland Fishing Society, had not yet perished; and the Scottish Literary Institute might uphold Scottish nationality on the land, while the other proclaimed it on the waters.

As a first step in the interests of the reconstructed Institute, a *conversazione* was held at Glasgow, to which were invited several university professors, and

* See *supra*, p. 125.

other votaries of learning. Those assembled were addressed by a newspaper editor—the same who had composed the rodomontade, which in the columns of the *Caledonian Mercury* had preceded the formation of the Vindication Society.* This demonstration was probably the last; I never heard of any other, but as I was uninvited to the meetings, there may have been more. When, after the lapse of seventeen years, proceedings under the directorate of Mr Burns and others were adopted to found a Scottish Literary Institute in London, I was led to publish a history of the first “institute” of the name. A portion of that history I inserted in the *Stirling Observer* newspaper, concluding by a query addressed to Mr Burns, as to the disposal of the books and funds. A copy of the newspaper I sent to Mr Burns, along with the following letter :

“GRAMPIAN LODGE, FOREST HILL, S.E.,

“August 13, 1875.

“SIR,—Along with this letter I post to your address a copy of the *Stirling Observer* of yesterday, in which you will, at the top of the sixth column of page 5, notice a query of mine. That query I beg leave now to repeat. Of the Scottish Literary Institute you were, I believe, a member of council when it ceased to hold meetings in 1859. And I remark from the report of that year, now before me, that you then took a prominent part in its concerns. As the originator of the Institute, and one of its members, I am anxious to know how it was wound up; what became of the funds, and how the books presented by Lords Brougham and Campbell, and two volumes presented to myself by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, were disposed of. Inti-

* See *supra*, pp. 119-124.

mately conversant with business matters as you are, I feel satisfied that you would not allow an institution with which you were connected, as one of the council, to collapse without furnishing to the members an account of the winding up, and consulting them as to the disposal of the funds. I enclose a stamped envelope with my address.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES ROGERS."

Lest this letter had miscarried, I transmitted a second copy, but Mr Burns has remained silent. The "London Scottish Literary Institute" I shall describe subsequently.

The destruction of the Scottish Literary Institute, dating from the period of its reconstruction in 1858, caused me deep concern, and I have never ceased to lament its fall. Soon after its collapse, I made an effort to resuscitate it, and was joined by a large majority of the members; but I was deterred from persevering, on account of the antagonism which "the vindicators" were likely to thrust upon the attempt. In 1861 I founded, under the presidentship of Sir James Maxwell Wallace, a benevolent society, styled "The Caledonian Institute," and found many persons ready to become members. But I was dissuaded from carrying it on by an assurance conveyed to me that so soon as it proved successful, an attempt would be made to bury my reputation in its ruins. So after a few months, I wound it up by a formal dissolution. I had collected eight guineas, which, in its distribution, proved of real and substantial benefit.*

* To James Macfarlan, the Glasgow poet, we made three grants. With re-

Nor can I leave this subject without expressing a hope that some one, unmindful of these failures which occurred under circumstances which are unlikely to return, would project and consolidate a fund for behoof of literary Scotsmen, or their survivors, in distress. Since 1855, when my attention was first directed to this subject, scarcely a year has passed, when I have not had brought under my knowledge cases in which even the grant of a few pounds would have proved an especial boon. Scotsmen will suffer rather than complain, and the remark especially applies to those of their number who cultivate letters. But no reasonable person would refuse relief tendered as a kindly donative in acknowledgment of merit.

The success which in 1857 had attended my efforts in laying out a place of sepulture at Stirling, induced me in 1861 to devise a scheme for the general improvement of Scottish churchyards. Consulting my friends, Sir James Stuart Menteth, Bart., Mr William Euing, Mr Pagan of Clayton, and Dr William Beattie, as to the establishment of a Churchyard Improvement Association, they commended the project. Thereafter I printed the following circular :

spect to this deceased bard, I do not feel that I am betraying confidence when I publish extracts from his letters of acknowledgment. On the 24th August 1861 he wrote : "This donation of £1 from the Caledonian Institute came at a time when I was in extreme need. It relieved me greatly." On the 29th October he acknowledged a second benefaction thus : "I beg gratefully to acknowledge £1 from the Caledonian Institute received yesterday ; but for which I would have been in a wretched condition at the present moment." He received a third grant in December.

“CHURCHYARD IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, 7s. 6d.

“The majority of country churchyards are in a state of neglect. It is proposed to establish an association to ascertain the precise condition of the various places of sepulture, and to bring under the notice of parochial authorities the state of such as particularly require reformation. By this course, it is believed that the association will be enabled to give an effective impulse to the improvement of country churchyards, so as to remove their present unseemliness. Those intending to join the society will please intimate their intention to the Rev. Dr Rogers, Stirling, *interim secretary*.”

Copies of this circular being transmitted to public journalists, the editor of a western newspaper denounced the project, which, he remarked, would prove serviceable only to its originator, while one of my opponents notified to an official connected with a department of the public service to which I belonged, that it was reported * I had realised by the scheme the sum of £40. At the entreaty of friends, I resolved to proceed no further; and so my antagonists were enabled, in one year, to crush three hopeful movements, the Caledonian Institute, the Supplemental Committee for completing the Wallace Monument, and a society for improving Scottish churchyards.

The scheme of levelling and adorning places of sepulture was not rashly entered upon. The ne-

* There was no such report. For the Churchyard Improvement Society I received in all the sum of fifteen shillings, which, with the consent of the two donors, I applied in settling the printer's account.

glected condition of the rural churchyards was matter of notoriety; and I felt that if parochial authorities throughout the country had their attention arrested by the circular of an association, benefit would ensue. A society, too, influentially supported and energetically conducted, might secure a legislative measure, and would certainly prepare for it by accumulating statistics.

When, owing to misrepresentation, the establishment of a Churchyard Improvement Society became impossible, I endeavoured to accomplish my object by private means. At an outlay of £20, I printed 1200 schedules and circular letters, which I despatched to the whole of the parochial clergy. These schedules contained a series of queries relating to the condition of the different churchyards.

From the incumbents of insular parishes, the reports were especially horrifying. In the Hebrides, the clergy reported that the dead were interred without coffins. The parochial sextons of Lewis and North Uist performed interments within six inches of the surface, the coffins, after a heavy shower, being frequently exposed. Mr Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris, in the isle of Lewis, great-grandfather of Lord Macaulay, died in 1758, and his remains were deposited in the parish church under the earthen floor, but so near the surface, that in scooping the floor many years afterwards, the sexton exposed his skull. The churchyard of Sandwick, in Orkney, was reported

to be an undrained marsh, in which every new-made grave was filled with water.

Returns from many rural parishes also contained revolting details. In the churchyard of Gamrie, overlooking the Moray Firth, the clergyman reported that human bones, fragments of coffins, and portions of gravestones were strewn about. At New Machar, Aberdeenshire, the peasantry obtained winter fuel by storing up portions of decayed coffins from the village churchyard. The parish schoolmaster of Ellon communicated that he had lately been obliged to cease teaching, owing to his schoolroom, which adjoined the churchyard, being saturated with the exhalations of mortality. At Kirkintilloch, Stirlingshire, the churchyard, which occupied the centre of the village, was surrounded with dwelling-houses, against the walls of which the soil rested to the height of about five feet. Not a single rural churchyard, respecting which I obtained returns, was levelled or properly enclosed; while in each many of the older tombstones were broken, or covered with soil, or used as pavement. Churchyards in upland districts were grazed by cattle, or used as sheep-walks.

In my schedule addressed to the parochial clergy I intimated an intention of producing a report, at the price of five shillings. Not long afterwards it was stated in a hostile newspaper that "Dr Rogers having plundered the public of many sums of 7s. 6d.

for his 'Churchyard Improvement Society,' was now seeking to obtain five shillings from the clergy for one of his unsaleable books." The paragraphist expressed a hope that the clergy would treat the sender of the schedule as he deserved! I know not whether copies of the journal containing this paragraph were sent to the clergy; but not long after its publication I ceased to obtain returns. Not only so, but several of my reverend brethren proceeded to act towards me as one who had offended. Two clergymen of an adjacent county returned to me the schedules by post, roughly bundled up, and unstamped; a parish minister near Campbeltown returned his schedule, inscribed with words used by my opponents; and another brother, more ingenious, and not less spiteful, was at pains to sketch a tombstone, on which, in sarcastic rhymes, he set forth my alleged perversity. An industrious writer in the county of Forfar, who had commenced a collection of tombstone inscriptions connected with the north-eastern district, afraid that he would be identified with me, advertised in the provincial journals that his undertaking was unconnected with mine! I now attempted to obtain answers to my queries from local antiquaries and parochial teachers, but succeeded very partially.

When canvassing in the central counties in connection with my newspaper, the *Stirling Gazette*, and over a wider field in support of my tract enterprise,

I was enabled materially to supplement my returns. From first to last, I personally inspected the more considerable burial-grounds from the coast of Ayrshire to St Abb's Head, and from the shores of the Solway to the borders of Kincardineshire. To this subject I shall return.

I had long contemplated the formation of a society or club, which might occupy the place of the Bannatyne Club at Edinburgh, the Maitland Club at Glasgow, and the Spalding Club at Aberdeen. Through the instrumentality of such a club only might any extensive work, such as that I contemplated on Scottish churchyards, be given to the world. With respect to the possibility of forming such an institution, I, in the summer of 1868, consulted my friend Mr William Euing,* and as he thought the project practicable, I made a commencement. Of those I appealed to, the first to join were Mr Kington Oliphant of Gask, Mr Vere Irving of Newton, Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir James Simpson of Edinburgh, and the Duke of Argyll.

A meeting of founders was held at London on the

* Mr Euing died at Glasgow on the 12th May 1874, aged eighty-six. To the University of Glasgow he bequeathed his large and valuable library, including his unique collection of versions of the English Bible; also £6000 for the establishment of fellowships. His musical library, said to be the most complete in existence, he presented to the Glasgow Andersonian University, in which he had endowed a chair of Music. To the Glasgow Botanic Garden, the Glasgow Sailors' Home, and the Glasgow City Mission, and other benevolent institutions, he made large bequests. His large and valuable collection of paintings he bestowed on the Corporation of Glasgow, for permanent exhibition in the city galleries.

2d November 1868, when the club was established under the presidency of the Duke of Argyll, the following laws being adopted as a constitution :

“ I. The Society shall be designated The Grampian Club.

“ II. The objects of the Club shall be the editing and printing of works illustrative of Scottish literature, history, and antiquities.

“ III. The Club shall consist of Members who shall subscribe One Guinea annually to the funds, payable in advance, with an entrance fee of Half-a-Guinea.

“ IV. The affairs of the Club shall be conducted by a Council consisting of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, with a Council of fourteen other Members, to be chosen annually at the General Meeting.

“ V. The Council shall determine the works to be edited and printed, together with the remuneration to be paid to persons employed in editing MSS., and otherwise shall arrange the business of the Club.

“ VI. The Council shall not incur any obligations beyond the annual income of the Club; and no Member of the Club or Council shall be responsible for any expenditure beyond the amount of his annual subscription.

“ VII. The accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the Club shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the General Meeting from among the Members; and the Report of the Auditors shall be printed and circulated.

“ VIII. Every Member not in arrear of his subscriptions shall receive one copy of each work printed by the Club.

“ IX. Members who are disposed to contribute works at their own expense, shall be invited to do so, such works having been submitted to the Council, and approved of by them before being sent to press.

“ X. The annual subscription shall be paid to the Treasurer on the first day of January of each year.

“ XI. Members of the Club may at any time compound for their future annual subscriptions by the payment of Ten Guineas over and above their subscriptions for the current year; and any

Member who shall present to the Club a work which is sanctioned by the Council shall be ever-afterwards exempt from any annual subscription.

“XII. Any Member of the Club who shall intimate to the Secretary his desire to withdraw from the same, and who shall have paid his annual subscription down to the period of said withdrawal, shall thereupon cease to be a Member.

“XIII. Members shall be admitted by the Council on a vote by ballot. A majority of the Council present shall be necessary to the admission of candidates.

“XIV. Persons eminent in literature may be admitted Honorary Members, but these shall have no claim (unless on the usual annual payment) to receive the publications of the Club.

“XV. A General Meeting of the Club shall be held annually in London, on a day to be fixed by the Council, and of which due notice shall be given to the Members.

“XVI. No alteration shall be made in these laws, except at a General Meeting of the Club,—nor then unless at least one month’s notice of the change to be proposed at such Meeting shall have been given in writing to the Secretary, and approved by a majority of the Council.”

In the course of a few months sixty members were enrolled; and to make a commencement, I offered to the council a MS. relating to social practices in Scotland, partly founded on materials collected during my travels. My MS. being approved, was sent to the printer, while I agreed to settle his claim, should the funds prove inadequate to this purpose. Under the title of “Scotland, Social and Domestic,” the work appeared in July 1869; though hastily composed, it was well received both by the members of the Club and the public generally.

Connected with the appearance of this work, I have

to record an episode, which, in its result, was not unimportant. From Dean Ramsay of Edinburgh, the ingenious author of "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character," and with whom I was unacquainted personally, I received the following letter :

" 23 AINSLIE PLACE,
" EDINBURGH, *August* 10, 1869.

" DEAR SIR,—Having been much interested in your late work on curious points in Scottish history, which I met with at Crathes Castle, where I have lately been visiting, I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in asking you to accept a Scottish book of mine, of which the object is to illustrate the quaint Scottish language and manners, which perhaps we may say have been *upon the change* during mine own lifetime, now extended to seventy-six years. Of course I make no claim to historical researches such as you have so successfully embodied in your work, 'Scotland, Social and Domestic.'—I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

" E. B. RAMSAY."

Happening to be in Edinburgh in September, I waited on the dean, and we soon became intimate. Aware of his admiration of Dr Chalmers, of whom he had published a biographical notice, I thought he might be induced to put forward a scheme of commemorating him by a monument.* In an Edinburgh newspaper I published three letters on the subject, one of which I reproduce, in an abridged form :

" SIR,—Will you permit me, as a native of, but by non-resid-

* It is perhaps, even in a note, useless to refer to designs and wishes, but I may remark briefly that I have long entertained a strong opinion that Dr Chalmers and John Knox should have monuments at Edinburgh. A monument to Chalmers is secured, but Knox is still uncommemorated. The attempt to celebrate the Reformer, made at Edinburgh a few years ago, I saw from the first would collapse—the promoters lacked organisation.

ence a stranger in, Scotland, to inquire through your columns why a monument has not been reared to one of the most distinguished of modern Scotsmen, Dr Thomas Chalmers? . . . So prone are our countrymen to monument building that several eminent persons have received more monuments than one. General the Earl of Hopetoun has four, Sir Walter Scott four, Robert Burns three. Monuments have lately been reared to the poets, Allan Ramsay, Leyden, Hogg, and Professor Wilson. The national heroes have generally received monuments; also the national philosophers, such as Dugald Stewart and David Hume. But Dr Chalmers, whose theological writings have added to the reputation of his country, remains uncommemorated. . . . The sentiments of the venerable Dean of Edinburgh respecting the great Presbyterian are well known. If he would initiate a movement for a monument to his illustrious friend, thousands would contribute to it. A colossal statue in Princes Street Gardens would be an appropriate cenotaph. Dr Chalmers was closely identified with Edinburgh; the centre of that city seems the best site for his monument.—I am, etc.,

“A STRANGER.

“EDINBURGH, *8th October* 1869.”

To Dean Ramsay I sent the newspapers which contained the several letters, and urged the proposal on his attention. We afterwards had two meetings, when the proposed monument was the chief subject of conversation. The dean showed me that he had commenced a movement shortly after Dr Chalmers' death, but that it had collapsed, consequent on Dr Guthrie and Dr Candlish delaying to produce a prospectus, the preparation of which was intrusted to them. He pleaded his advanced age as a reason for declining the enterprise now. But I argued that, though it were actually his last public effort, the

cause was worthy of occupying that place, while the duty of collecting might be devolved on others. From his neutral position as an English Churchman, the proposal, if proceeding from him, would, I held, command an attention which, if originating otherwise, it might fail to secure. At an interview on the 5th November, the day before I left for London, the dean consented to convene a meeting, and to invite the Earl of Dalhousie to preside. A letter which I received from him, dated the 29th November, contained these words :

“The enclosed will show you an attempt for Chalmers’ monument, and will supply my apology for a hurried note, as I am busy preparing for a meeting to-morrow ; it has been appropriately but unconsciously fixed for St Andrew’s Day.”

The enclosure, a printed circular, was inscribed thus :

“Some friends and admirers of Dr Thomas Chalmers being desirous of holding a preliminary meeting for the purpose of reorganising the committee formed in 1847, and for taking other measures towards erecting a statue of Dr Chalmers in Edinburgh, may I request the favour of your attendance here on *Tuesday* next at four o’clock ?

“EDINBURGH, 23 AINSLIE PLACE,

E. B. RAMSAY.

“*November 25, 1869.*”

The dean reported to me that the meeting was a success ; Lord Dalhousie presided, and a committee was chosen, with the dean himself as convener. On the committee subsequently appeared the names of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Arch-

bishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Dukes of Buccleuch and Argyll, with many of the nobility, and other eminent and representative persons. From the dean I received, on the 13th April 1870, the following note :

“ Dr Chalmers’ monument is safe as far as the *statue* is concerned, as we see our way to £2000. But the kirk sessions are only just beginning to move, and they will be productive. We have an excellent committee. The address signed E. B. R. was *written*, small corrections excepted, by thy servant E. B. R. One thing has been a great pleasure in the Chalmers work, the most agreeable intercourse it has brought on with the committee.”

In the spring of 1872 the fund had reached nearly £4000 ; it was augmented afterwards. The committee intrusted the execution of the monument to the eminent sculptor, Mr John Steele, who informs me that it is “ far advanced towards completion.” It will consist of a bronze colossal statue on a pedestal of Aberdeen granite, and will be erected on a most appropriate site in the new town of Edinburgh.*

The Grampian Club was joined in 1869 by the Marquis of Bute, the Earl of Dalhousie, the Earl of Glasgow, the Earl of Rosslyn, Mr Home Drummond of Blair Drummond, and other notable persons. On the resignation of the original secretary in January 1870, I was appointed as his honorary successor. I was previously elected general editor. I had held

* Dean Ramsay died on the 27th December 1872. I had the satisfaction of paying a tribute to his memory in a small volume of “ Memorials and Recollections.”

office as secretary only two weeks, when I was assailed with an asperity not exceeded by any attack which had preceded it. As the interests of the Club were involved, I reported the attack to the council, which appointed a committee to answer it ; * but it was too bitter to be injurious.

In 1870 the Club issued a work by Mr Kington Oliphant, entitled "The Jacobite Lairds of Gask ;" being a history of the Scottish House of Oliphant, from unpublished documents and family papers. In the same year the Marquis of Bute, one of the vice-presidents, consented to produce at his private cost the "Chartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey ;" it was issued in May 1872, in an elegant quarto, profusely illustrated, and edited under the careful superintendence of Mr William Fraser of Edinburgh.

My collections on Scottish monuments and tombstones being accepted by the Club, appeared in 1871 and 1872, under the title of "Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland," in two thick octavo volumes. Of this work, only a few sets remain ; the previous issues of the Club have long been exhausted.

After the manner of the Scottish book societies, the members of the Grampian Club hold an annual dinner. At the first dinner, held in November 1871,

* Of this committee, the convener was Mr John Dalziel, formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service. I have pleasure in commemorating this estimable gentleman as one of those to whom the Club was much indebted during its early progress. Mr Dalziel was a native of Aberdeenshire ; he fought at Waterloo, but leaving the army, became police magistrate at Colombo. He retired from active service in 1864, and settled in London ; he died on the 23d May 1873.

Vice-Chancellor Sir John Stuart occupied the chair.* The Marquis of Lorne, the Earl of Rosebery, and Lord Houghton presided at subsequent dinners, and in February of the present year the members dined along with the Royal Historical Society in Willis's Rooms, under the presidency of Lord Aberdare.

The issues of the Club in 1873 were Hay's "Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI.," edited from an unpublished MS.; and "Genealogical Collections concerning the Scottish House of Edgar." In 1874 I edited for the club "Boswelliana, the Commonplace Book of James Boswell," from the original MS. in possession of Lord Houghton. A memoir of Boswell was prefixed, also an essay on his character by Lord Houghton.

The Club next published a work of no inconsiderable importance. Through the exertions of Mr Joseph Bain, a member of council, two ancient records were secured, the protocol register of the diocese of Glasgow, from 1499 to 1513, and the rental book of that see from 1509 to 1570. These MSS. were long supposed to have been lost, and their discovery was partly due to the investigations of the Historical Commissioners. Having been procured from their custodiers, Bishop Strain of Edinburgh and the Principal of the Catholic College at Blairs, they were carefully transcribed, and edited by Mr

* In reporting this dinner in the *Glasgow Mail*, Mr James Manners omitted my name from the lists.

Bain and myself. Among the Club's publications they are known as "The Diocesan Registers of Glasgow;" and are contained in two thick octavo volumes. The cost of production was upwards of £500.*

The "Diocesan Registers" were issued in February 1875. A few weeks afterwards appeared in London the first issue of a Scottish journal, which among other pledges of an inviting character, promised to "eschew intemperate censures." With its programme was circulated a prospectus of the "London and Scottish Literary Institute," a society which, it was announced, "had taken and set apart rooms in a central part of London," where members might consult "reviews and periodicals;" also "a selection of American, Canadian, English, Scottish, and other newspapers."

The London and Scottish Literary Institute, it was also intimated, had engaged in a scheme of benevolence. As the establishment of "bursaries" in connection with Scottish colleges was one of the objects of the institute reconstructed in 1858, so the London and Scottish Institute of 1875 announced that its "honorary secretary would receive subscriptions and donations to establish scholarships in connection with

* Apart from the existence of a club, such a work as the "Diocesan Registers" must have remained unprinted. The editors were, in deciphering the MSS., as well as in preparing an abstract of the *Protocolle*, much indebted to the industry and skill of their transcriber, Mr Walter Macleod of Edinburgh. I recommend this gentleman to the employment of those who are engaged in historical researches, and the deciphering of ancient MSS.

the Royal Caledonian Asylum," "arrangements being in progress for attaching them to the different national universities."

Heretofore attempts to transfer the Scottish Literary Institute to London, or to establish in the metropolis a new society of the name, had not prospered. When in 1868 the Grampian Club was founded in London, a "Scottish Literary Institute" was also started; but it began and ended with a feast. A second effort made in 1872 lacked even the convivial success which had attended the former, for an entertainment, on the 25th January of that year, at which it was to be revived, did not come off, being attended by only thirteen persons, of whom seven were reporters for the press. But the third effort, associated with a benevolence and central news-rooms, was more likely to excite attention. So it did. A patriotic nobleman consented to preside at an inaugural *conversazione*, to be held on the 23d of June; and as a card of invitation was issued, bearing respectable names, many persons assembled.

The Institute was formally revived on the 23d June 1875, the first being formed on the 22d June 1855, just twenty years before. The new Institute met in the rooms usually occupied by the Grampian Club, and on the same day a letter was addressed to the founder of both institutions charging him with cupidity and malversation.

The monthly print associated with the new Institute

“eschewed intemperate censures” only for a short season, for in its June issue I was denounced with the usual acerbity. As secretary of the Grampian Club, I was charged with intentional concealment of its affairs. A succession of prints and missives containing these and other charges was received by the governors of the Scottish Hospital and the Caledonian Asylum, by members of the Highland Society, the Caledonian Society, and the London county clubs, by the editors of metropolitan and other newspapers, by the secretaries of learned societies, by the members of the Grampian Club, and by my neighbours at Forest Hill, including the office-bearers of the church of which I am a member.

Efforts less powerful and much less ingenious had wrecked the first Scottish Literary Institute in 1858, the Supplemental Wallace Fund in 1862, and the Naval and Military Tract Society in 1866. It therefore became necessary to adopt prompt measures of defence. The council of the Club, at my request, assembled on the 10th August, and issued the following report :

“The Grampian Club was originated on the 2d November 1868, for the purpose of editing and printing works connected with Scottish Literature, History and Antiquities. The Members are admitted by Ballot, and contribute One Guinea annually to the funds. Since the commencement, 523 Members have been admitted; the Roll at present contains 382 names. The following works have been issued, the selling prices being annexed :

“ ‘Scotland, Social and Domestic,’ by the Honorary Secretary,	£1	1	0
“ ‘The Jacobite Lairds of Gask,’ by T. L. Kington Oliphant, Esq. of Gask, ...	1	1	0
“ ‘Scottish Monuments and Tombstones,’ by the Secretary, 2 vols., ...	2	12	0
“ ‘The Scottish House of Edgar,’ 4to, ...	0	7	6
“ ‘Hay’s Estimate of the Scottish Nobility,’	0	7	6
“ ‘Commonplace Book and Memoir of James Boswell,’ edited by Lord Houghton and the Secretary, ...	1	1	0
“ ‘The Diocesan Registers of Glasgow, from 1499 to 1570,’ edited by Joseph Bain, Esq., and the Secretary, 2 vols.,	4	4	0
“ ‘The Chartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey,’ 4to, the gift of the Marquis of Bute. Copies which come into the market bring Ten Guineas.			

These publications have been issued to Members who have been on the Roll since 1869, in lieu of seven annual payments.

“The funds of the Club have been applied to the editing and printing of the works issued. The Officers of the Club, including the Secretary and Treasurer, discharge their duties gratuitously, so that there is no charge for administration.

“The Receipts of the Club, from its commencement to the Annual Meeting held on the 12th November 1874, amount to £2652, 9s. 10d., of which has been expended on editing the sum of £458, 6s. 8d. The Treasurer’s Books, with relative Vouchers, are examined before the General Meeting, by two Auditors annually chosen, and submitted to the Meeting.

“The Council have at present in the Press a work on the Priory of Beaulieu, by E. Chisholm Batten, Esq. of Aigas. They have also in preparation ‘The Royal Letters and Proceedings of the Privy Council, during the Secretaryship of the Earl of Stirling, from 1626 to 1635,’ preserved in three MS. volumes in the Advocates Library and General Register House. Two of the volumes, transcribed at the expense of the Bannatyne Club, have been gratuitously handed to the Council by the Secretary of that Club.

“Subscriptions of One Guinea are payable annually to the Treasurer, James Cowan, Esq., National Bank of Scotland, 37 Nicholas Lane, London, E.C.

“W. C. HEPBURN, *Chairman.*”

In the Glasgow *Mail*, Mr James Manners followed up the campaign begun in London, yet the mischief occasioned was inconsiderable, for only seven members retired from the Club, of whom one returned on receiving the council's report.

Amidst these vigorous efforts to wreck the Club, the conductors of the Institute had neglected to carry into effect their own programme. News-rooms in a central part of London were not opened; nor were scholarships established. Respecting the latter, I despatched to Dr Daniel, secretary of the Caledonian Asylum, the following letter of inquiry :

“GRAMPIAN LODGE, FOREST HILL,

“August 18, 1875.

“DEAR SIR,—I enclose an eight-paged print which has, since February last, been circulated among Scotsmen in London, along with subscription forms to a journal entitled the *London and Scottish Review*, and along with copies of that journal. The print, you will remark, begins with ‘An Appeal to the Friends of the Soldier and Sailor,’ in which it is proposed, on behalf of the ‘London Scottish Institute,’ to ‘establish scholarships of the value of £20 each, to be competed for annually by scholars of the Royal Caledonian Asylum,’ and respecting which ‘arrangements are in progress for attaching them to the different national universities.’ Then follows copy of a letter ‘from an ex-director of the Royal Caledonian Asylum,’ dated London, 20th April 1868, and addressed to the late Rev. Dr Guthrie, of Edinburgh, requesting him to preach on behalf of the institution, with Dr Guthrie’s reply. And lastly, there is a prospectus of a society, described as having been founded in London, entitled ‘The London and Scottish Literary Institute,’ of which Scotsmen are invited to become members, at an annual subscription of one guinea each. Now, as in the print no list of directors or com-

mittee is presented for the Scottish Institute, or the Scottish Literary Institute, the former of which seems to be founding the bursaries, while the latter body, if I read the print aright, is to receive the subscriptions, may I respectfully inquire whether you or your directors have sanctioned, or are cognisant of the publication? As a well-wisher of your admirable institution, I should rejoice to see bursaries established in connection with it. But it forcibly occurs to me that it would be well that the public should be informed whether the directors of the Caledonian Asylum are connected with the directorate of the institute, or whether you or your directors have sanctioned the foundation of these bursaries. If the ex-director of your society, whose letter to Dr Guthrie is included in the print, is connected with the bursary scheme, which is almost implied from his letter being included in the print, I should think that his effective style of writing would largely conduce towards the establishment of the bursaries. On this account it humbly appears to me that there is the greater reason why our countrymen and the public should be assured that you or your directors sanction what is being done; for without such sanction, or a proper and definite organisation of some kind, for carrying out the work, the good intention of the projector or projectors might ultimately fail. And it would be matter of regret to all concerned should funds, which might otherwise be subscribed to your institution, be diverted from it to the support of an undertaking which those engaged in it might, from imperfect arrangements, be unable to utilise. Please kindly return the print.—I am, dear Sir, your faithful Servant,

CHARLES ROGERS."

To this letter I received from Dr Daniel the following answer :

" ROYAL CALEDONIAN ASYLUM,
" HOLLOWAY, N., *August 20, 1875.*

" DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of the 18th inst., and a copy of a print entitled, ' An Appeal to the Friends of the Soldier and Sailor; ' and in reply to your inquiry I beg to inform you that the proposed scheme to establish scholarships of the

value of £20, to be competed for annually by the boys of the Caledonian Asylum, has not in any way whatever the sanction or authority of the court of directors of that corporation. The proposed scheme is simply absurd. The boys in our asylum do not receive, and are not admitted for the purpose of receiving, instruction to fit them for a university education. They have the advantage while in the asylum of a sound English education, and are prepared for such occupations as those of clerks, artisans, assistants in warehouses and shops, and so forth; and also for enlistment into the bands of Highland regiments. I desire to repeat that the directors of the Caledonian Asylum have no official knowledge of the scheme in question; and I venture to affirm that, if it were laid before them, it would meet with their disapproval. Further, in reply to your letter, I beg to state that I am entirely unacquainted with 'The London and Scottish Institute;' and that, with regard to the printed copy of a letter from an 'ex-director,' addressed to the late Rev. Dr Guthrie, almost every sentence in it is taken (without acknowledgment) from appeals to the public benevolence, which I have prepared at various times in connection with our anniversary festivals. I return the pamphlet as desired.—I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"J. C. DANIEL,

"Secretary to the Royal Caledonian Asylum.

"To Dr Rogers."

The statements contained in Dr Daniel's letter justified further inquiry, and when I afterwards found in circulation a new manifesto, intimating, as directors of the new Institute, the names of four gentlemen, members of the earlier institution, I sought information from them. Mr William Burns, one of the four, I addressed twice, without receiving a reply.* Dr Charles Mackay, whose poem in praise

* See *supra*, p. 324.

of uprightness had been circulated along with the Institute's other issues, stated that he had "never heard of these papers;" Mr Francis Bennoch reported that he had subscribed to the new Institute, but that he had attended no meeting; and Mr James Ballantine stated that he "knew nothing of the scholarships." The monthly print of the Institute, which latterly denounced me in nearly all its pages, terminated its issues in December; the London Institute had perished previously.

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CHAPTER X.

RECENT ENTERPRISES AND STUDIES.

“Res gerere, et captos ostendere civibus hostes
Attingit solium Jovis, et cœlestia tentat.
Principibus placuisse viris, non ultima laus est.”

—*Horace.*

IN 1868 I issued, for a period of six months, *The Oak*, a periodical publication. Among my contributors were Georgiana Lady Chatterton, Sir John Bowring, Mrs Newton Crosland, Mrs E. H. Ogilvy, Mr Hain Friswell, Dr W. C. Bennett, Mr William Sawyer, and Mr W. C. Hepburn. The financial success of the publication did not warrant its continuance, and I might not have specially referred to it, but that it contained my views regarding a system of postage, which has since been adopted both throughout Europe and America. Of these views I present an epitome in the following sentences :

“The proposed acquisition by Government of the telegraph wires has led to the consideration as to whether further reform might not be effected by adopting a convenient and cheap system of postage. Vast sums are, in public advertising, expended annually, and the question has arisen where to advertise. It may be assumed that when a clothier advertises pulpit-gowns in a periodical or newspaper, he is addressing one reader only in a hundred who belongs to the clerical profession, and that of

these not one in a hundred requires the renewal of his pulpit habit. . . . What class of advertisements are most read? Those, we believe, which are placed on the breakfast-table after the postman's rap. The circular system of advertising is at present rarely adopted, owing to its cost. The Post-Office department should facilitate the business of the country by permitting the ready circulation of advertisements. Cheap advertising cards should be issued, and these of a size and thickness as not to inconvenience sorters and deliverers."

These views, published in May 1868, I stated more in detail in the following November to the Marquis of Hartington, Postmaster-General; but whether they conduced towards originating the card system of postage adopted in 1870 I have no means of ascertaining.

The early success of the Grampian Club led to the formation of the Historical Society. I can scarcely claim to be its founder, for the name was suggested by another; but its establishment on a solid and substantial basis devolved wholly upon myself. Among my coadjutors were Sir John Bowring,* Sir William Fairbairn, Bart., Mr William Euing, Mr George Cruikshank, Dr J. A. Langford, and Dr Cuthbert Collingwood. Among the earlier adherents

* In establishing the Historical Society, I was mainly indebted to the co-operation of my much venerated and highly-gifted friend, Sir John Bowring. When in town, Sir John and Lady Bowring attended the Society's meetings, and took part in the discussions. To Sir John's experience I was much indebted in conducting the Society through its earlier stages. Sir John died on the 23d November 1872, at the age of eighty. For a period of eight years, I was privileged to enjoy his intimacy. A remarkable linguist, an ingenious financier, and a skilful administrator, he was, at the same time, a warm friend, and a devout, upright man.

were the Marquis of Lorne, Earl Russell, the Bishop of Limerick, Sir Roundell Palmer, now Lord Selborne, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., Dean Stanley, Dean Hook, Mr Grote, Mr Ruskin, and Mr Froude.

A meeting of founders was held on the 23d November 1868, when the following laws were adopted as a constitution :

“I. The Society shall be designated The Historical Society of Great Britain.

“II. The objects of the Society shall be the conducting of Historical, Biographical, and Ethnographical investigations.

“III. The Society shall consist of Fellows who shall subscribe One Guinea annually to the funds, payable in advance, with an entrance-fee of Half-a-Guinea.*

“IV. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to be chosen annually at the General Meeting, consisting of a President, Eight Vice-Presidents, and Sixteen Fellows, together with a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Historiographer.

“V. The Council shall determine the works to be edited and printed, and the materials to be collected, and otherwise shall arrange the business of the Society.

“VI. The Council shall not incur any obligations beyond the annual income of the Society; and no Fellow of the Society shall be responsible for any expenditure beyond the amount of his annual subscription.

“VII. The accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the General Meeting from among the Fellows.

“VIII. Subscriptions shall be paid to the Treasurer on the first day of January of each year, and every Fellow not in arrear of his subscriptions shall receive one copy of the Transactions, and of each work printed by the Society.

* The annual payment has been raised to two guineas, with an entrance-fee of three guineas.

"IX. Fellows who are disposed to contribute works at their own expense, shall be permitted to do so, such works having been submitted to the Council and approved of by them before being sent to press.

"X. Fellows of the Society may at any time compound for their whole future annual Subscriptions by the payment of Ten Guineas.

"XI. Any Fellow of the Society who shall intimate to the Secretary his desire to withdraw from the same, and who shall have paid his subscription for the current year, shall thereupon cease to be a Fellow.

"XII. Fellows shall be admitted by the Council on a vote by ballot. A majority of the Council present shall be necessary to the admission of candidates.

"XIII. Persons eminent in literature may be admitted Honorary Fellows, but these shall have no claim (unless on the usual annual payment) to receive the publications of the Society.

"XIV. Meetings of the Society shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers, etc. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually, on a day to be fixed by the Council, and of which due notice shall be given to the Fellows.

"XV. No alterations shall be made in these laws, except at a General Meeting of the Society—nor then unless at least one month's notice of the change to be proposed at such meeting shall have been given in writing to the Secretary, and approved by a majority of the Council."

The provisional committee proceeded to enrol members, and in April 1869 the list included forty names. It was resolved to hold monthly meetings for conducting literary business. On the 24th May 1869, under the presidency of Sir John Bowring, a paper was read to the Society by Dean Hook on "Marlborough and his battles." To meetings held in June and July, papers on "Prince Rupert," and

on the "Study of History," were contributed by Dr Langford and Professor de Vericour.

A general meeting of the Society was held on the 6th January 1870, when Mr George Grote was elected president. Mr Grote acknowledged my letter, intimating his election, in these terms :

"12 SAVILE ROW, W.,

"January 14, 1870.

"SIR,—I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 12th, informing me that the Historical Society of Great Britain have done me the honour to elect me president of the Society for the present session. If this post entailed the necessity of any duties or attendances, I should be compelled respectfully to decline it, for my time is already fully occupied with other engagements. But as you assure me that I shall be 'held fully exempted from duties of every kind,' I willingly consent that my name should appear as you have placed it among the very distinguished names of your printed list.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

"GEO. GROTE."

On the death of Mr Grote in July 1871, Earl Russell was appointed president. His lordship having accepted office, delivered his inaugural address on the 24th June 1872; it was included in the "Transactions."

The first volume of "Transactions" was issued in May 1872. By Earl Russell, a copy was transmitted to the Right Hon. Henry Austin Bruce, Home Secretary, for presentation to the Queen, accompanied by a request that Her Majesty would graciously accord to the Society the privileges of a royal institution.

In reply, Lord Russell received from the Secretary of State the following communication :

“ WHITEHALL, *June* 28, 1872.

“ MY LORD,—I have had the honour to submit to the Queen your lordship’s request, as President of the Historical Society, that the Society may be permitted to assume the title of the ‘Royal Historical Society,’ and I beg to inform your lordship that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify her approval that the Society shall henceforth be styled the ‘Royal Historical Society.’—I have the honour to be, your lordship’s obedient Servant,

H. A. BRUCE.

“ THE EARL RUSSELL, K.G.,

“ *President of the Royal Historical Society.*”

In June 1872 the Society consisted of about 120 members; the roll now contains upwards of 500 names, exclusive of honorary members. Among the latter are the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli; Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, President of the Geographical Society; Herr Hans J. Worsaae of Copenhagen; the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; and the Rev. Dr Robert Moffat, the eminent missionary. The Society has issued four volumes of Transactions, which contain contributions from General Sir Edward Cust, Sir John Bowring, Captain Charles Warren, the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, Dr George Harris, Colonel Joseph Chester, Dr Zerffi, Mr John Prendergast, and other well-known writers. The Society meets monthly in the rooms, 11 Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, from November till July;

the average attendance being about forty. A library, from which fellows of the Society may borrow books, has been added; it contains about five hundred volumes, chiefly on subjects of biography and history. A volume of family history will henceforth be published annually. Elected historiographer in 1868, I have, since January 1870, discharged the duties of honorary secretary.*

In establishing the Historical Society, I had especially in view the elucidation of family history, on the correctness of which general history largely depends. Under the auspices of the Society I have prosecuted a series of biographical studies, in illustrating which I have derived materials from unpublished sources.

The religious sincerity of the early promoters of the Protestant faith in Scotland rested in a large measure on a settlement of the question, as to whether George Wishart, a preacher of the Reformed doctrines, who was burned at St Andrews in 1546, was accessory to a conspiracy formed against the life of Cardinal Beaton. If Wishart was concerned in that conspiracy, as is held by Mr Tytler and other historians, then it might be fairly assumed that those associated with him, in promoting ecclesiastical

* In 1869, the president, and in 1870, the treasurer, received copies of the old printed attacks upon me, and, as I anticipated, a vigorous effort was put forth to destroy the Society and myself, after Lord Russell's public inauguration as president in 1872. In July 1875, missives, denouncing me, began to be delivered at the Society's rooms, addressed to the librarian. In one of these I was described as possessing "the countenance of a bull, the voice of a lion, and the hide of a rhinoceros!"

changes, were also connected with the plot, or did not disapprove it, and that, in furtherance of their design, they were willing to destroy life. A cause, otherwise just, ought not to suffer through the perversity or misdirected zeal of its promoters ; yet the character of the Scottish Reformation would be considerably degraded if those who preached the Protestant doctrines were found privy to schemes of assassination. The charge of conspiring against Beaton has been brought against George Wishart on these grounds. From Cambridge, where he some time acted as a tutor, he returned to Scotland, in July 1543. In April of the following year, a person, described as a "Scottish man called Wyshert," bore from Alexander Crichton of Brunstone, a Scottish landowner, to the court of Henry VIII. a letter, intimating the existence of a conspiracy against the cardinal. Two State documents prove the mission, and establish that the bearer of Crichton's letter was an abettor in his plot. On discovering these documents in the State Paper Office, Mr Tytler assumed that the messenger was Wishart, the Reformed preacher, whose return to Scotland, in the previous July, he held as a verification of the fact. Other historians, following Mr Tytler, accepted his statement as to the Reformer's guilt, or, in the absence of other facts, were unable to cope with it.

Two persons to whom George Wishart was personally known, have depicted his character. Emery

Tylney, his pupil at Cambridge, describes him as “a man, modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness, forgiving those who would have slain him, and seeking to do good to all and hurt to none.” John Knox styles him “a meek lamb,” and further describes him as “a man of such graces, as before him were never heard within this nation.”

A student possessing these amiable qualities, and who, as Tylney and Knox elsewhere show, was in feeble health, was unlikely to involve himself in a conspiracy, of which the discovery would bring discredit on his teaching.

In support of the preacher's innocence there are stronger arguments. George Wishart was in holy orders, and was a Master of Arts; as a member of the clerical order he is named, in the Cottonian MSS., by a Protestant contemporary; and he is styled “a clerk,” by the contemporary Scottish historian Lesley, a Romish bishop. He is designated Master of Arts by Tylney, who remarks that he was “commonly called Maister George of Bennet's College.” By Knox he is styled “Maister George,” and he receives the prenomens of “Master” in the Treasurer's Accounts. Had Crichton been privileged to employ a messenger, who was a Master of Arts, and in orders, he would certainly not on these points have maintained silence. But in both the State documents concerning him—one a letter from the Earl of Hertford, the other a despatch of the Privy

Council—Crichton's messenger is simply described as "a Scottish man called Wyshert."

The Reformed preacher belonged to the House of Wishart of Pitarrow, in Kincardineshire. At his period the members of the Pitarrow family consisted of John Wishart, owner of the estate; his brother, George, the preacher; and James of Carnebeg, his second brother, who was father of four sons—John, James, Alexander, and George. John, the eldest son of James of Carnebeg, ultimately became a judge in the Court of Session. He prosecuted his legal studies at Edinburgh. When there, he was enabled to meet his relative, James Learmont of Balcomie, in Fife, an avowed enemy of the cardinal, and an associate of Norman Leslie and Kirkaldy of Grange, who were also of the conspiracy. At the period when Crichton's messenger proceeded to London in 1544, John Wishart, the future judge, would, in a State document, have been entitled to a designation not more precise and definite than "a Scottish man, called Wyshert," his father being possessor of only a small holding, and himself occupying no certain status.

Was this John Wishart more likely than his relative, the preacher, to join in a conspiracy against the cardinal? A promoter of the Protestant doctrines, he sat in Parliament when the Reformed Church was recognised; but, like his contemporaries, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland of Lethington, he lacked

consistency. Appointed paymaster of the Reformed clergy, his conduct was doubtful. He deserted the Regent Murray, who had honoured him with knighthood. He joined Kirkaldy of Grange in the Castle of Edinburgh, on behalf of the dethroned queen, and in virtual opposition to the Protestant government. He rejoiced in contention, and was chargeable with avarice. Having joined Kirkaldy on behalf of Queen Mary, in 1573, he was not unlikely to have associated with the same wavering statesman in plotting the death of Beaton about thirty years previously.

George Wishart the preacher was John Wishart's uncle. If the preacher was cognisant that his nephew joined in the conspiracy, he was, no doubt, personally identified with it. But there is no evidence that he knew of it; he seems to have resided at Pitarrow from the period of his return to Scotland, in July 1543, till the spring of 1545, when he commenced preaching at Montrose. The "Scottish man called Wyshert" appears in connection with the conspiracy only in April 1544. If John Wishart was studying law at Edinburgh when his relative Learmont of Balcomie made him known to the cardinal's enemies, he may have proceeded on his expedition to the English court without communicating with his relatives at Pitarrow. On the messenger's return, the plot slumbered, and it was not revived till the following spring, when the name of Wishart no longer appears in the list of conspirators. Is it an unwarrantable hypo-

thesis that, being latterly informed of his doings, his uncle, the preacher, persuaded him to withdraw from the conspiracy?

Cardinal Beaton, at the period of George Wishart's trial, knew that a plot had been formed against his life. He proceeded to the preacher's trial against the wishes of the Regent Arran, but whose opposition would have ceased had he charged the preacher with sharing in the conspiracy. He did not.

Mr Tytler proceeded to verify his imputation by alleging that the preacher predicted at the stake the cardinal's death, which he was enabled to do from his being concerned in the conspiracy against his life. Did Wishart really utter such a prediction? In an account of Wishart's death, included in the first edition of "Foxe's Martyrology," published in 1563, and founded on a narrative of the event, evidently prepared by Knox, and afterwards included in his history, the alleged prediction is unnamed. It is first mentioned by George Buchanan in his "History of Scotland," composed thirty years afterwards. But Buchanan, though a contemporary, was absent from Scotland when Wishart suffered, and he derived his information from the following source. In the second edition of "Foxe's Martyrology," published in 1570, marginal notes are added. In a note on the margin opposite a passage in which Wishart is represented as exhorting the bishops who witnessed his execution to study the Scriptures, "otherwise the

wrath of God should fall upon them suddenly," the annotator writes: "Mr George Wishart prophesieth of the death of the cardinall, which followed after." This unauthorised gloss arresting his eye was assumed by Buchanan as a part of the actual record, and his error at length became history.

Other errors in connection with Wishart's memoirs I have been enabled to correct. Among these are the imputations that he held opinions similar to those of Socinus,—that he claimed the gift of prophecy, and that he assumed the priestly office without canonical sanction.

Scottish ecclesiastical writers had dealt summarily with Mr John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, one of the most earnest and devoted founders of the Scottish Church. Having made a study of his history, I have embodied the result of my inquiries in the third volume of the Historical Society's Transactions; also in a separate publication.* Davidson was led to embrace the Protestant doctrines by Mr David Fergusson, minister at Dunfermline, and his views were confirmed by Knox. He taught philosophy at St Andrews, where Knox was his chief associate; he afterwards celebrated that reformer in a considerable poem. Having composed a poetical satire on the Regent Morton for uniting parishes for his personal benefit, he was exposed to sharp persecution, and driven into exile. He often came into personal

* "Three Scottish Reformers," 1874, 8vo.

contact with James VI., whom he opposed in public, and privately rebuked. In Scottish ecclesiastical affairs, he is chiefly known as an opponent of the bishops, and as encountering, on their instigation, the opposition of the king. Davidson, I found, was entitled to commemoration on grounds more befitting his ministerial status ; he was a laborious and earnest pastor. At Prestonpans, his last ministerial charge, his people were of the humbler class ; and to provide permanently for their spiritual instruction, he reared a church and manse at his private cost. He also endowed, at Prestonpans, an educational seminary. Urging the observance of domestic worship, he composed prayers for family use ; also a catechism of Christian doctrine. His "Memorials of his Time," an unpublished work, was used by the historian Calderwood. When the zeal of the Reformed clergy had considerably abated, he succeeded in reviving it. A discourse, which he preached to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in March 1596, produced among his brethren a deep and lasting impression. Dreading the force of his eloquence in resisting his plans to introduce episcopacy, James VI. confined him to his parish, nor would he permit his enlargement when in the spring of 1603 he proceeded to England to occupy its throne. Davidson died in August 1603, in his fifty-sixth year.

A poet and statesman, Sir William Alexander of Menstry, latterly Earl of Stirling, occupied a con-

spicuous position in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. As a poet, he was beloved by his contemporaries; as a statesman, hated. In 1853 I commenced inquiries into his history; and continuing the investigation at intervals, I have at length prepared a large work on his personal and family history.* A stately and elegant poet, he would have proved a popular statesman, if he had, like his poetical contemporary, Drummond of Hawthornden, confined himself to Scotland. But he went to court, and became ambitious; and as his aspirations were encouraged by two foolish kings, he lost repute, and died ingloriously. By James VI. he was constituted a sort of depute-sovereign, with power to grant titles, in a territory of vast extent, but of which the plantation was wholly chimerical. Unable to colonise New Scotland, he sought compensation for his losses from the old kingdom, by endeavouring to possess himself of a portion of the public revenues. When, in effecting this purpose, one plan failed, another followed with amazing promptitude, while every attempt was countenanced by royal mandate. From Charles I. Alexander obtained the offices of Principal Secretary for Scotland, Master of Requests, and Keeper of the Signet, and was thereby enabled to monopolise the national patronage. From all persons appointed to public offices in Scotland he obtained fees; from all who presented memorials to the king he claimed

* Now in the Press.

gifts, and he was entitled to certain duties by attaching the king's signet to commissions and public writs. Master of Mines and Minerals, he also became Master of the Mint, and obtained the royal authority to add to his private fortune by debasing the coin. Patentee of a metrical version of the Psalms, prepared by himself, in name of the deceased King James, he obtained the royal sanction for its sole use in all churches and chapels, not in Scotland only, but in England and Ireland. He was knighted—created a viscount—advanced to an earldom. He had a residence at Covent Garden, a mansion at Stirling, a manor-house at Menstry. His clan, the Macalexanders, acknowledged him, though belonging to a younger branch, as their head and chief. He received a special grant of arms; and constructed at Stirling church an imposing sepulchre. His credit enabled him to borrow largely, but he died miserably, overpowered with debt, and pursued by his creditors. For his fame, and even his personal comfort, he had better have composed verses on the banks of the Devon, and remained at Menstry, his ancestral home. He died in 1640, at what age is not known, but more advanced in years than is supposed generally.

About another conspicuous Scotsman of the seventeenth century, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, few particulars were known. Like the Earl of Stirling, he had many enemies. Sir John Scot suffered

through one fatal error ; he advised Charles I., about the commencement of his reign, to assume possession of the church lands, in virtue of his prerogative. The advice was practically useless, for an attempt to dispossess the nobility of a portion of their estates would have produced an insurrection. But Sir John Scot was not forgiven for his injudicious counsel, and though he proved himself a patriot and a benefactor, he did not regain public esteem. He founded the Humanity chair in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, thereby introducing the study of Latin into the national universities. He enlarged the library of St Leonard's College ; he enabled Arthur Johnston to publish his "*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*," an ingenious and important work ; he defrayed the heavy cost of producing Bleau's Atlas of Scottish Counties ; he devised the preparation of a statistical history of the different parishes ; he endowed a charity at Glasgôw for the training of young persons in trade. But he was hated to the last. At length he retired to his mansion at Scotstarvet, in Fife, and associated with literary persons from other lands. On his opponents, the Scottish nobility and landowners, he wreaked revenge, by composing a history of their families. In that history, "*The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*," he scourged terribly, but was content to write the book without publishing it. After his death the MS. was frequently copied ; it was afterwards published by Ruddiman, and I have ventured

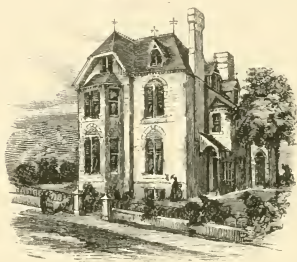
to reproduce it. Sir John Scot died in 1670, at the age of eighty-four ; he is represented by the Duke of Portland.

In 1864 I instituted a movement for amending the English criminal law, by the appointment of public prosecutors ; but finding that the subject was under consideration of the Government, I did not urge it. Twenty-five years ago I devised a scheme for checking pauperism, by means of compulsory life insurance ; I also proposed the erection of dwellings for the working classes, on an improved system.

I approve the creation of life peers, and hold that hereditary honours should be resumed, when the possessors offend in the code of honour. I disapprove the law of entail ; it burdens heirs, is unjust to younger sons, and restrains industry. Emigration I hold should be further encouraged, and the colonies entrusted with self-government. The unequal incubus of taxation in the different parishes of the metropolis should be remedied by the adoption of a general board.

Cultivators of learning should receive State rewards and honours. The introduction of mediæval practices in the services of the Church of England, is disastrous, and should be steadily resisted. All ecclesiastical offices, implying non-residence, should be reconstructed. Every parochial clergyman should possess an income of at least £200 a-year. College chairs and fellowships should be open to persons of every denomination.

These Leaves are closed; if dry, they may be pardoned, for I promised "leaves" only. Having detailed a course of hostilities, it is pleasant, in concluding, to refer to an act of solid friendship. I am



accommodated in a dwelling, of which the foundation-stone is thus inscribed :

"This house, a gift by his friends to Dr Charles Rogers, in recognition of his public services, was founded 26th March 1873."

Among those who promoted the erection were two bishops of the Church of England, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the ex-Moderator of the English Presbyterian Church; also three members of the Wallace Monument Committee, who some time acted with my opponents. The foundation-stone was laid by George Cruikshank.

INDEX.

A.

ABBEY CRAIG, 115, 127, 128, 130, 143,
 166-174, 180, 188, 208, 209, 210, 246.
 Abbotsford, 88, 257, 262-266.
 Abbotshall, parish of, 84, 87.
 Aberdare, Lord, 208, 339, 352.
 Aberdeen, 19, 20.
 Aberdeen, Earl of, 267.
 Aberlemno, cross of, 73.
 Abernethy, tower of, 73.
 Achrannie, cascade of, 74.
 Adam, Chief Commissioner, 11, 94.
 Adam, Mrs Sarah Flower, 299.
 Agricola, encampment of, 93.
 Aird, Thomas, poet, 87.
 Airlie Castle, 74.
 Airlie, Earls of, 10, 21.
 Airthrey Castle, 173.
 Airthrey Spa, 96.
 Aitchison, Elliot, 282.
 Albany Herald, the, 274.
 Aldershot, 194, 232.
 Alexander I., 87, 100.
 Alexander II., 100.
 Alexander III., 87, 100.
 Alexander, General Sir James Edward,
 93.
 Alexander, Sir William, of Menstry, 76,
 361-363.
 Alison, Sir Archibald, Bart., 125, 152,
 170, 174, 177, 267, 313.
 Allan, George, poet, 295.
 Alloa, 141.
 Alloway Kirk, 87.
 Altrive Lake, 262, 266, 271.
 Alva, 183, 274.
 Amulree, 97.
 Ancient Stirling, Lodge, 184.
 Anderson, George, of Luscar, 84.
 Anderson, Rev. John, D.D., 72, 224.
 Anderson, Rev. Thomas G. Torry, 295.
 Anderson, Sir James, M.P., 159, 313.
 Anderson, William, 312, 313, 322.

Angus, braes of, 53.
 Antiquaries, Scottish Society of, 93.
 Arbroath, 183.
 Arbroath, abbey of, 74.
 Ardoch, camp at, 97, 99.
 Argyle, Duke of, 70, 106, 141, 208, 331,
 332.
 Argyle, second Earl of, 2.
 Army Scripture Readers' Society, 222.
 Army Training Scheme, 217.
 Arnot, Rev. Dr David, 170.
 Ashestiel, 261.
 Aspern, field of, 175.
 Athole, Duke of, 166, 169, 170, 180.
 Attorney-General, the, 141.
 Auchterhouse, parish of, 74.
 Auld, Rev. Robert, 76.
 Ayr, 137.
 Aytoun, Professor W. E., 125, 133,
 267.
 Aytoun, Sir Robert, 76-79, 243.

B.

BAILEY, Philip James, 300-307.
 Baillie Hon. Charles, 135, 151, 157,
 313.
 Baillie, Sir William, of Hoprig, 142.
 Baillies of Jerviswoode, 172.
 Bain, Donald, 274.
 Bain, John, St Andrews, 98.
 Bain, Joseph, 339.
 Baird, James, M.P., 148.
 Balcaithly, farm of, 48.
 Bald, Alexander, 310, 311.
 Bald, Robert, 310, 311, 313.
 Balelie, farm of, 48.
 Balfour Castle, 74.
 Balfour, Sir James, 73.
 Balgarnie, J. H., accountant, 204, 205.
 Ballantine, James, 247, 347.
 Ballantyne, John and James, 257, 263.
 Ballingry, parish of, 93-95.
 Balloch, 48.

- Balmoral, castle of, 97.
 Balrymont, farm of, 48.
 Banks, William, 257.
 Bannatyne Castle, 74.
 Bannatyne Club, 331.
 Bannockburn, 87, 100, 169, 173.
 Barbour, Archdeacon, 260.
 Barclay, Sheriff, 313.
 Barnweill Hill, 160.
 Batten, E. Chisholm, of Aigas, 343.
 Beaton, Cardinal, 2, 74, 354-360.
 Beattie, Dr William, 225, 294, 295, 326.
 Begg, Mrs, 244.
 Bel-craig, the, 46.
 Bell, Bessy, ballad of, 73.
 Bell, Jane Cross, 293.
 Bell, Sheriff Glassford, 135, 136, 171, 177, 273, 274, 275, 292, 293.
 Beltein, sports at, 47.
 Ben Ledi, 173.
 Ben Lomond, 173.
 Bennett, Dr W. C., 348.
 Ben Nevis, 259.
 Bennoch, Francis, 347.
 Bermony, estate of, 9.
 Bengo, engraver, 245.
 Beyrout, 232.
 Birmingham, 145.
 Black, Adam and Charles, 265.
 Blackie, Professor, 139, 177, 313, 314, 315, 317.
 Blackwood, Messrs, 267.
 Blair, Arnold, chaplain, 74, 89.
 Blair, Dr Hugh, 53.
 Blairadam, 94.
 Bleau's Atlas, 364.
 Boar's Chase, 49.
 Bond of guarantee, 164.
 Boswell, James, 20, 25, 39, 339, 343.
 Boswelliana, 339, 343.
 Bowring, Lady, 349.
 Bowring, Sir John, 348, 349, 351, 353.
 Braemar, 98.
 Breadalbane, Marquis of, 141, 267.
 Brechin, 184.
 Brew-houses, Scottish, 51.
 Brewster, Sir David, 60-67, 70, 135.
 Bridge of Allan, 96, 99, 127, 136, 143, 173, 221.
 Bright, Right Hon. John, 163.
 Brisbane, General Sir Thomas Macdougall, 309.
 Bristol, 238, 239.
British Bulwark, 235, 239, 240.
 British Christian Institute, 223.
Briton, The, 225.
 Brougham, Lord, 163, 318, 324.
 Brown, Colin Rae, 123, 129, 206.
 Brown, Principal William Lawrence, 18.
 Brown, Professor James, 27.
 Brown, Professor William, 17.
 Bruce, James, journalist, 91.
 Bruce, King Robert the, 44, 87, 89, 100, 124, 150, 169, 170, 212, 248.
 Bruce Monument, 116, 117.
 Bruce, Sir Michael, Bart., of Stenhouse, 182.
 Buccleuch, Duke of, 115, 266, 270, 273, 280, 337.
 Buchanan, Dr Claudius, 30.
 Buchanan, George, 100, 162, 359.
 Buchanan, Rev. Dr Thomas, 311.
 Buchanan, Thomas, 112.
 Buchanan, Walter, M.P., 148, 314, 315, 317.
 Buist, Dr George, 70, 79.
 Burd, Mrs, 255.
 Burd, Rev. Mr, 253-255.
 Burns, Colonel J. G., 182, 245.
 Burns, Colonel W. N., 182, 245, 246.
 Burns, Robert, 43, 44, 87, 88, 116, 117, 244-247, 248, 260, 297.
 Burns, Robert, jun., 245.
 Burns, William, 118, 121, 129, 132, 134, 143, 144-165, 168, 173-184, 188, 192, 200, 205, 209-213, 247, 297, 313, 320-325, 346.
 Bursars, St Andrews, 13, 15, 63.
 Bute, Marquis of, 337, 338.

C.

- CADELL, Robert, publisher, 265.
 Caledonian Asylum, 341, 344-347.
 Caledonian Institute, 325, 326.
Caledonian Mercury, 119-124, 324.
 Caledonian Society, Royal, 342.
 Cambridge, Duke of, 169.
 Cambuskenneth, abbey of, 93, 116, 173, 338.
 Camelon, Roman works at, 99.
 Cameron, Major-General, 142.
 Campbell, Abbot Donald, 2.
 Campbell, Alexander, 294.
 Campbell, Archibald, 294.
 Campbell, John, anecdote of, 16.
 Campbell, Lord Chancellor, 69, 141, 315, 318, 324.
 Campbell, Mary, 297.
 Campbell, Mr, of Monzie, 135.
 Campbell, Principal George, of Aberdeen, 19, 20.
 Campbell, Sir Archibald, Bart., 316.
 Campbell, Sir Hugh Hume, Bart., 316.
 Campbell, Sir James, of Stracathro, 316.
 Campbell, Thomas, 294.
 Campbell, William, of Tillichewan, 171.

Candlish, Rev. Dr, 325.
 Canning, Lord, 172.
 Cant, Rev. George, 28.
 Carlile, Alexander, poet, 284, 285.
 Carlisle, 230, 253, 256.
 Carlyle, Thomas, 142.
 Carnbee, parish of, 47.
 Carnegie, Hon. James, of Finhaven, 8.
 Carnoustie, 96.
 Carruthers, Dr Robert, 243.
 Castle, John, 264.
 Castleton of Braemar, 97.
 Cavaliers, the, 259.
 Chalmers, Dr Thomas, 28-31, 51, 65, 139, 334-337.
 Chambers, Dr Robert, 46, 76, 243, 248, 262, 268, 269.
 Chapel of Lochore, 93.
 Chapelhope, 272, 273.
 Chaplains, army, 216.
 Charles I., 88.
 Charles, Archduke, 175.
 Charles Edward, Prince, 21, 248.
 Charpentier, Charles, 254.
 Charpentier, Charlotte Margaret, 253.
 Charpentier, M. Jean, 253, 254.
 Chatham, 232.
 Chatterton, Georgiana, Lady, 348.
 Cheltenham, 229, 230, 245.
 Chester, Colonel Joseph, 353.
 Chesters, farm of, 48.
 China, 232.
 Christmas, observance of, 50.
 Churchyard Improvement Society, 327, 328.
 Cincinnati, 268.
 Clackmannan, county of, 166.
 Clarke, Robert, 268, 269.
 Clarkson, Dr James, 265, 266.
 Cleghorn, Peter, of Wakefield, 75.
 Clifton, Gloucestershire, 203.
 Cochrane, A. Baillie, M.P., 137, 142, 313, 315-317.
 Cockburn, Chief-Justice, 208.
 Cockburn, Henry, 31.
 Colebrooke, Sir Edward, Bart., M.P., 316.
 Collingwood, Dr Cuthbert, 349.
 Colquhoun, Archibald Campbell, of Killermont, 248, 252.
 Colquhoun, Sir James, Bart., of Luss, 182.
 Columbia College, 98.
 Commander-in-Chief, 166.
 Comrie, 97.
 Constable, Archibald, 31, 262, 233.
 Constantinople, 232.
 Cook, Dr George, 69.
 Corntown, battlefield of, 87, 173.

Cornwall, 47.
 Corrymuchloch, 97.
 Cortachy Castle, 20.
 Cortachy, parish of, 18, 21.
 Coupar, abbey of, 2, 3.
 Coupar-Grange, lands of, 3, 4.
 Covenanters, the Scottish, 52, 259.
 Cowan, Charles, M.P., 310.
 Cowane's Hospital, Stirling, 110, 115.
 Craighall, cascade at, 74.
 Crawford, Andrew, 190.
 Crawford, John, poet, 296.
 Crichton, Alexander, of Brunstone, 355-357.
 Crichton, Rev. Andrew, 225.
 Crief, 97.
 Crompton, Major-General, 201.
 Crosland, Mrs Newton, 348.
 Crosscleuch, 274.
 Cruikshank, George, 117, 206, 348, 366.
 Culloden, castle of, 21.
 Cumberland, Duke of, 18.
 Cunningham, Allan, 257, 282.
 Cunningham, Peter, 282.
 Cupples, Mrs George, 293.
 Currie, Andrew, of Glassmount, 84.
 Currie, Andrew, sculptor, 273, 275, 278.
Cursus Apri, 49.
 Cust, General Sir Edward, 353.
 Cuthbert, Rev. George, 233.

D.

DALHOUSIE, Earl of, 336, 337.
 Dalhousie, Marquis of, 142.
 Dalziel, John, 338.
 David I., 88.
 Davidson, Janet, 7.
 Davidson, Rev. John, 360, 361.
 Davidson, Thomas, of Wolflaw, 7.
 Davidsons of Balgay, 8.
 Daniel, Dr, 344-346.
 Danube, 175.
 Davie, Sir H. R. Ferguson, Bart., 316.
 Deeside, 97.
Delitice Poetarum Scotorum, 364.
 Dempster, George, of Dunnichen, 22-26.
 Denholm, monument at, 279.
 Denmylne House, 73.
 Dick, Dr Thomas, 308, 309, 313.
 Dick, John, Stirling, 103-105, 113, 183, 187-195, 200, 202, 210, 237.
 Dick, Mrs, 310.
 Dickson, Rev. Dr William, 72.
 Discipline, church, 49-51.
 Disraeli, Right Hon. Benjamin, 353.
 Dodds, James, 106, 137, 176, 315.

Doig, Dr Thomas, 112.
 Donaldson, Dr James, 313, 320.
 Doon, the river, 87.
 Douglas, Earl of, 73.
 Downshire, Marquis of, 253, 256.
 Drummond Castle, 96.
 Drummond, G. Home, of Blair-Drummond, 337.
 Drummond, Peter, 179, 185, 221, 223.
 Drummond, Queen Annabella, 88.
 Drummond, Sir John Forbes, 247.
 Drummond, Sir J. H. W., 247.
 Drummond, William, of Hawthornden, 76, 362.
 Drummond, William, of Rockdale, 105-110, 164, 165, 182.
 Dryburgh, abbey of, 88, 252.
 Dumbarton, 140.
 Dumfries, 138, 230.
 Duncan, Lord, 309, 310.
Dundee Advertiser, 27.
Dundee Courier, 64.
 Dundee, town of, 4, 18, 74, 141.
 Dundee, Viscount, 73, 109.
 Dunfermline, 85, 88-90, 137.
 Dunino, parish of, 27, 33, 46-50, 75, 91.
 Dunkeld, city of, 73.
 Dunnichen, parish of, 22, 26.
 Dunsinane, hill of, 73.
 Durward Castle, 74.

E.

EAMONT, vale of, 253.
 Edgar, King, 88.
 Edinburgh, 137, 202, 203, 226, 271.
 Edinburgh Castle, 255.
 Edward I., 151, 172, 208.
 Eglinton, Earl of, 125, 133, 267.
 Elgin, Earl of, 133, 135, 138, 170.
 Elliott, Charlotte, 299.
 Ellon, parish of, 329.
 Emigration, 363.
 England, censures of, 122-124.
 Erskine, Mary Ann, 248, 252.
 Erskine, Rev. Ebenezer, 107.
 Erskine, William, advocate, 252, 253, 257.
 Ettrick Forest, 251, 259, 270, 278.
 Euing, William, Glasgow, 298, 326, 331.

F.

FAIRBAIRN, Sir William, 349.
 Fairlie, Lady Cunningham, 168, 185.
 Falkirk, 87, 138.
 Falkland Palace, 73.
 Fawdoun, ghost of, 84.

Ferguson Bequest, 145.
 Ferguson, Rev. David, 360.
 Ferguson, Sir Adam, 253, 257, 262, 265.
 Fergusson, Robert, poet, 15.
 Fergusson, Sir James, 137.
 "Festus," poem of, 300-307.
 Findlay, Rev. William, 186.
 Finhaven Hill, 74.
 Fitzalan, family of, 131.
 Fleming, Marjory, 86.
 Fleming, Mr James, 86.
 Fleming, Rev. Thomas, D.D., 86.
 Flint, Rev. Professor, 225.
 "Fools make a mock at sin," anecdote, 8.
 Forfar, 156, 183.
 Forsyth, Christina, 300.
 Fort George, 194, 198.
 Fortune, Mr, artist, 207.
 Foulshiels, 278.
 Fowler, William Macdonald, 28.
 Fox, Right Hon. Charles, 26.
 Fraser, William, Edinburgh, 338.
 Friswell, Mr Hain, 348.
 Froude, J. A., LL.D., 350.

G.

GALBRAITH, T. L., 152.
 Galgacus, 93.
 Gamrie, churchyard of, 329.
 Gardner, Rev. Dr, 313.
 Garter King of Arms, 121.
 Gascon Hall, 74.
 Gask, 248.
 Gellatly, Janet, 6.
 Geneva discipline, 50.
 Gerard, Dr Alexander, 19.
 Giants' tubs, 47.
 Gilfillan, Rev. George, 141, 224, 291, 292, 313.
 Gillan, Rev. Dr Robert, 135, 167, 176.
 Gillespie, Professor Thomas, 68, 76.
 Gilsland, 253, 254.
 Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., 141, 163, 208.
 Glamis Castle, 73.
 Glamis, parish of, 18, 73.
 Glasgow, 156.
Glasgow Bulletin, 208.
Glasgow Citizen, the, 119.
Glasgow Herald, 184.
 Gleig, Rev. G. R., 193, 194, 195.
 Glen, William, poet, 293, 294.
 Gleneagles, family of Haldane of, 9.
 Glyde, Mrs, 233.
 Golden Lion Hotel, Stirling, 186.
 Gordon, Sheriff Thomson, 142.

Gordon, Sir John Watson, 267.
 Gowling Hills, Stirling, 115.
 Græme, Sir John the, 43, 171.
 Grampian Lodge, 366.
 Grampians, battle of the, 93.
 Grand Lodge, 180.
 Grangemouth, 156.
 Grant, General Sir Hope, 182.
 Gray, Captain Charles, 28, 296.
 Gray, Rev. William, D.D., 72.
 Greig, Rev. James, 95.
 Greenock, 141, 156.
 Grey, Earl de, 201.
 Grey Mare's Tail, 272.
 Griffith, Colonel, 169.
 Grote, George, 350, 352.
 Gunn, John, freebooter, 4.
 Guthrie, James, martyr, 105.
 Guthrie, Rev. Dr, 139, 222, 234, 335, 344, 345.

H.

HADOW, Miss, of St Andrews, 76.
 Haldane, Captain James Alexander, 9.
 Haldane, family of, 9.
 Haldane, Jane, 8.
 Haldane, Principal Robert, 28, 70.
 Haldane, Rev. William, of Kingoldrum, 8, 10.
 Haldane, Robert, of Airthrey, 9.
 Haliburton of Newmains, family of, 251.
 Halliday, John, 282.
 Hamilton, 183.
 Hamilton, Duke of, 141, 316.
 Hamilton, William, of Gilbertfield, 9, 43.
 Hannay, George F., of Kingsmuir, 75.
 Hardcastle, C. D., 298.
 Harris, Dr George, 353.
 Harris, parish of, 328.
 Hartington, Marquis of, 349.
 Harvey, Sir George, 105.
 Harvie, Thomas, builder, 155, 156.
 Hatton, castle of, 74.
 Havergal, Rev. W. F., 225.
 Hebrides, 328.
 Henderson, Major John A., of Westerton, 93.
 Henderson, Rev. Alexander, 107, 108.
 Henry, Prince, 100.
 Henry the Minstrel, 9, 43, 89, 260.
 Hepburn, W. C., 343, 349.
 Herries, Baron, 264.
 Highlanders, Western, 123.
 Hill, Dr Henry David, 27.
 Hill, Principal, 18, 31.
 Hill, Professor, 79, 96.

Hillsborough, Earl of, 253, 254.
 Hogg, James, 67, 257, 263, 264, 266-278, 295.
 Hogg Monument, 270-278.
 Hogg, Mrs, 256, 265-278.
 Hook, Dean, 350.
 Holyrood, sanctuary of, 202.
 Home, James, poet, 296.
 Home, Rev. John, 44, 280.
 Houghton, Lord, 339, 343.
 Hull, Anna Matilda, 300.
 Hume, David, 25.
 Hunter, David, of Blackness, 207.
 Hunter, Dr James, 27, 68.
 Hunter, Dr John, 12, 17, 27.
 Huntly Burn, 265.

I.

ILLEGITIMACY in Scotland, 50.
 Inglis, Henry, of Torsonce, 177.
 Inglis, John, Right Hon., 267, 315.
 Inglis, Mrs Margaret Maxwell, 296.
 Innerleithen, 269.
 Ireland, 231.
 Irvine, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Bart., 19.
 Irving, Dr David, 79, 243.
 Irving, George Vere, of Newton, 331.
 "Issues of Religious Rivalry," 241.

J.

JAGG, punishment of the, 51.
 James I., 88, 100, 112.
 James II., 100.
 James III., 100.
 James IV., 100.
 James V., 100.
 James VI., 100, 107, 108.
 James VII., 108.
 Jamieson, Dr John, 31.
 Jamieson, Rev. Dr, 313.
 Jeffrey, Lord, 31, 68.
 Jerviswoode, Lord, 135, 151, 157, 159, 160, 164, 180, 181, 186, 188, 210.
 Johnson, Dr Samuel, 16, 20, 25, 38.
 Johnston, Arthur, 364.
 Johnston, Ebenezer, 178.

K.

KARMBIE HILL, 47.
 Kant, Immanuel, 28.
 Keillor, Easter, lands of, 9.
 Keir, 173.
 Keith, William, of Ravelstone, 86.
 Kelso, 261.
 Kenilworth, 262.
 Kenly, farm of, 49.

Kenneth III., 100.
 Killiecrankie, pass of, 73.
 Kilmarnock, 141.
 Kilspindie, parish of, 74.
 Kinaldie, estate of, 48, 76.
 Kinclaven, parish of, 74.
 Kinglassie, parish of, 82.
 Kingsbarns, parish of, 49.
 Kingsmuir, estate of, 49, 75.
 King's Park, Stirling, 111, 116, 165.
 Kinnaird, Hon. Arthur, M.P., 310.
 Kinnoull, Earls of, 11, 121.
 Kinnoull, parish of, 74.
 Kirk sessions, procedure of, 49-51.
 Kirkaldy of Grange, 357, 358.
 Kirkcaldy, 84-87.
 Kirkintilloch, churchyard of, 329.
 Knowles, James Sheridan, 267.
 Knox, John, the Reformer, 34, 87, 107,
 139, 259, 334.

L.

LADIES' ROCK, Stirling, 104, 109, 215.
 Laidlaw, James, 266.
 Laidlaw, William, 257.
 Laing, David, LL.D., 79.
 "Land o' the Leal," 248.
 Langford, Dr J. A., 349, 352.
 Langholm, 273.
 Largo, stones of, 73.
 Largs, 228.
 Lauderdale, Duke of, 247.
 Lee, Principal John, 27.
 Learmont, James, of Balcomie, 357,
 358.
 Leckie, a messenger, 235, 236.
 Leslie, Norman, 357.
 Lewis, isle of, 328.
 Lewis, Sir George Cornwall, 193, 195.
 Lewisham, 203, 236.
 Leyden, Andrew, 279.
 Leyden, Dr John, 279.
 Limerick, Bishop of, 350.
 Lindores Abbey, 73.
 Lindsay & Paterson, W.S., 212.
 Linlithgow, 156.
 Liverpool, 145, 161.
 Livingston, Dr David, 310.
 Lizars, William Home, 257.
 Lion and Typhon, 150, 151, 235.
 Loch, Captain, 122.
 Loch Earn, 97.
 Loch Katrine, 260.
 Lochleven, 94, 96, 262.
 Loch Lomond, 48, 96.
 Lochnagar, 97.
 Loch of the Lowes, 272, 276.
 Lochore, Roman camp of, 93.

Loch Tay, 48.
 Loch Turret, 97.
 Lockhart, John Gibson, 253, 262-264,
 269.
 Lockhart, Mrs, 264.
 Logan, Mr Sheriff, 129, 139.
 London, 145, 161.
 London Book and Tract Depository,
 241.
London Scotsman, 205, 206.
 Lord Lyon, the, 119, 121.
 Lorne, Marquis of, 339.
 Lubbock, Sir John, 350.
 Lunan Farming Society, 24.
 Lundin, Sir Richard, 171.
 Lyle, Thomas, poet, 284.
 Lyndsay, Sir David, 73, 111.
 Lynedoch, Lord, 73.
 Lyon, Dr James, 295.
 Lyon, Mrs Agnes, 295.
 "Lyra Britannica," 300.

M.

MACAULAY, Lord, 328.
 Macanlay, Rev. Aulay, 328.
 Macbean, Rev. James, 70.
 Macbeth, fortress of, 73.
 Macdonald, Hugh, poet, 286.
 Macduff's Cross, 73.
 Macfarlane, James, poet, 287-291, 325.
 Macfarlane, John, of Coneyhill, 102,
 128.
 Mackay, Archibald, poet, 292.
 Mackay, Dr Charles, 148, 297, 315,
 346.
 Maclaren, Lord Provost, 125.
 Macleod, Dr Norman, 237, 246, 300.
 Macleod, Walter, 340.
 M'Conechy, Dr, 283.
 Macpherson, Cluny, 135.
 Macpherson, James, editor of *Ossian*,
 25.
 Macvicar, Rev. Dr John G., 224.
 Magus Muir, 73.
 Maitland Club, the, 331.
 Maitland of Lethington, 357.
 Major, John, historian, 42, 43.
 Malcolm II., 74.
 Malcolm Canmore, 88.
 Malcolm the Maiden, 88.
 Malcolm, Sir John, Bart., 95.
 Malvern, 229.
 Manchester, 145, 161, 236.
 Manners, James, 178, 195, 197, 198,
 199, 206, 213, 235, 334.
 Manners, Lord John, 111.
 Mar, Earl of, 102, 104.
 Margaret, Queen, 88.

Mary, Queen, 100.
 Maxwell, Sir John, Bart., 134.
 Maxwell, Sir William Stirling, Bart., 150, 151, 155.
 May-day sports, 47.
 Meigle, Runic cross of, 73.
 Melrose, abbey of, 2, 83, 262.
 Melville, Lord, 18.
 Melville, Lord Provost, 135, 139.
 Melville, Rev. Andrew, 107.
 Memory, early, 33.
 Meniel, Miss, 300.
 Menteth, Sir James Stuart, Bart, 177, 182, 315, 326.
 Middleton, Earl of, 106.
 Miller, Bailie James, 115.
 Miller, Captain P., of Dalswinton, 168.
 Mitchell, John M., 134, 135, 143, 147, 165, 318-322.
 "Modern Scottish Minstrel," 144, 243, 247, 251, 297, 308.
 Moncreiff, Lord, 314, 315.
 Moncrieff, Rev. Sir Henry, Bart., 31.
 Moffat, 201-203.
 Moffat, Rev. Dr Robert, 353.
 Monboddo, Lord, 17.
 Monifieth, parish of, 22.
 Montrose, 183.
 Montrose, Duke of, 133, 135, 141, 170, 316.
 Moray, Earl of, 172.
 More, Professor Shank, 258, 313.
Morning Journal, 161, 162, 178, 179, 195, 235.
 Morrison, Ebenezer, 113, 163, 183, 201, 202, 209.
 Morrison, James, of Livilands, 185.
 Motherwell, William, 283, 284.
 Mount Benger, 67, 271.
 Mount, the, 73.
 Mugdrum Cross, 73.
 Murchison, Sir Roderick, Bart., 331.
 Murray, Andrew, 172.
 Murray, Dr Thomas, 77.
 Murray, Duncan, 206.
 Murray, Rev. James, 224.
 Murrie, John, 143.
 Mylne, George W., 233.

N.

NAIRNE, Baroness, 247-250.
 Napier, Admiral Sir Charles, 142.
 Napier, Hon. William, 275.
 Napoleon, 175.
 Naval and Military Tract Society, 234-241, 342.
 Neaves, Lord, 267.
 Neish, James, of Laws, 7.

New Machar, 329.
 Nicolson, Bishop William, 254.
 Nicolson, Miss Jane, 254.
North British Mail, 178, 206.
 Northesk, David, second earl of, 8.
 Norton, Hon. Mrs, 153.

O.

OCHIL HILLS, 173.
 Ochiltree, Rogers of, 2.
 Ogilvie, Anne, 8.
 Ogilvie, laird of Cluny, 6.
 Ogilvie, Sir John, Bart., of Inverquhar, 8.
 Ogilvy, Lord, 21.
 Ogilvy, Mrs E. H., 348.
 Ogilvy, Sir John, Bart., 310.
 Oliphant, Carolina, the younger, 250, 251.
 Oliphant, Laurence, of Gask, 248.
 Oliphant, Lord, 74.
 Oliphant, Mrs Carolina, 247.
 Oliphant, T. L. Kington, 331, 338, 343.
 Oxleuch Burn, 276.

P.

PAGAN, William, of Clayton, 182, 185, 326.
 Palmerston, Lord, 119, 122, 163, 268, 309.
 Panmure, Lord, 267.
 Park, Andrew, poet, 286.
 Park, Jean, 278.
 Park, Mungo, 278.
 Park, Patric, sculptor, 128.
 Park, Rev. Dr John, 285, 286.
 Paterson, Mrs Brown, 225.
 Paterson, Rev. Dr A. S., 225.
 Paterson, Walter, 268.
 Paton, Joseph N., antiquary, 92.
 Paton, Sir J. Noël, 92, 318.
 Patrick, William, of Roughwood, 160.
 Peddie & Kinnear, architects, 105, 154.
 Peel, General, 109.
 Perth, 73, 156.
 Perthshire, 166.
 Pillans, Professor, 275.
 Pinkerton, John, antiquary, 23.
 Pitarthie, castle of, 38, 48.
 Pittencierieff Glen, 89.
 Pittendreich, 48.
 Pitt, William, 26.
 Playfair, Colonel Sir Hugh, 87, 115.
 Playfair, Principal James, 26, 27.
 Playfair, Professor John, 12.
 Playfair, William, miscellaneous writer, 26.

Plymouth, 232.
 Portland, Duke of, 172, 365.
 Portobello, 201.
 Portsmouth, 229, 232.
 Potatoes, early culture of, 6.
 Prejudices, clerical, 53.
 Prendergast, John, 353.
 Presbytery of St Andrews, 61, 81.
 Prestonpans, battle of, 18.
 Priorletham, great tree at, 38, 39.

Q.

QUERN, ancient, 48.
 Quilter, Ball, & Co., 237-241.

R.

RAE, James, 206.
 Rae, James, of Coldsheaf, 86.
 Ramsay, Dean, 258, 334-337.
 Ramsay, Rev. William, 71.
 Rankin, Provost William, 105, 191, 209, 210.
 Rankine, Professor Macquorn, 317.
 Rawlinson, Major-General Sir Henry, 353.
Record, the, 237, 241.
Recorder, the, 239, 240.
 Rector, election of, 64-67.
 Reed, Edward J., C.B., M.P., 300-307.
 Reekie Linn, 74.
 Reid, Dr John, 71.
 Renwick, Rev. James, 108.
 Restennet Priory, 74.
 Rhymer's Glen, the, 262.
 Riddell, Major, 255.
 Riddell, Rev. Henry Scott, 275, 280, 311.
 Riddoch, Mrs, 20.
 Ritchie, Handyside, 105, 110, 147.
 Robert III., 88.
 Roberts, Anna, 8, 10.
 Roberts, Rev. Charles, of Dundee, 8.
 Robertson, Rev. John, D.D., 71, 284, 290.
 Robinson, Miss, of Guildford, 233.
 Robinson, Rev. Robert, 299.
 Rochead, John Thomas, architect, 154.
 Rodger, Peter, Selkirk, 275.
 Roger, Ayrshire family of, 2.
 Roger, James, of Redie, 3.
 Roger, John, black friar, 2.
 Roger, Peter, Coupar-Grange, 7.
 Roger, Peter, poet, 282.
 Roger, Rev. James, of Dunino, 11, 32-57, 90, 91.
 Roger, William, Coupar-Grange, 4-6.
 Roger, William, merchant, Dundee, 3.

Roger, William, steward of Coupar Abbey, 2.
 Rogers, Samuel, 294.
 Rothesay, Duke of, 73.
 Round Table, Stirling, 112.
 Roxburghshire, Rogers of, 2.
 Ruskin, Professor John, 350.
 Russel, Alexander, journalist, 91.
 Russell, Earl, 350, 352, 353, 354.
 Russell, Rev. James, 275.
 Rutherford, Dr Samuel, 77.
 Rutherford, Robert, 251.

S.

"SACRED MINSTREL," 298.
 Salmon, anecdote relating to, 6.
 Sandwich, churchyard of, 328.
 Sanquhar, 141.
 Sawers, Thomas, 130.
 Sawyer, William, 348.
 Schiehallion, 259.
 Schools, Scottish parish, 34.
 "Scotland and her Calumniators," 148.
 "Scotland, Social and Domestic," 333.
 Scot, Sir John, of Scotstarvet, 363.
 Scott, Dr Hew, 81.
 Scott, General, of Balcomie, 17.
 Scott, Hon. J. C. Maxwell, of Abbotsford, 264.
 Scott, James Robert Hope, 264, 279.
 Scott, John, 253.
 Scott, John, of Rodono, 272, 273.
 Scott, Lady, of Abbotsford, 252-257.
 Scott, Lady, of Lochore, 95.
 Scott, Mary Monica Hope, 264.
 Scott, Miss Anne, 264.
 Scott Monument, 182.
 Scott, Mrs Hope, 264.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 73, 87, 88, 95, 247, 251-266, 269.
 Scott, Sir Walter, second Bart. of Abbotsford, 264.
 Scott, Walter C. Maxwell, 264.
 Scott, William, of Teviotbank, 251, 272.
 Scottish Literary Institute, 145, 146, 312-326.
 Scottish Rights' Society, 125-127, 149, 163, 210, 322, 323, 324.
 Secunderabad, 233.
 Sedgwick, Daniel, bookseller, 298.
 Selborne, Lord, 350.
 Selkirk, 269.
 Seymour, A. C. Hobart, 298.
 Sharp, Archbishop James, 73.
 Sheffield, 236.
 Shepherd, Mrs Anne, 298.
 Shirra, Rev. Robert, 85.
 Shoplifting, 101.

Sibbald, Sir Robert, 93.
 Simpson, Mrs Jane, 293, 300.
 Simpson, Sir James, Bart., 331.
 Sinclair, Sir John, 22.
 Skinner, Dean, 11.
 Skinner, Rev. John, author of "Tullochgorum," 11.
 Smith, Alexander, poet, 243, 291, 300, 307.
 Smith, Dr Adam, 84.
 Socinianism, 53.
 Southampton, 233.
 Spalding Club, the, 331.
 Spens, Sir Patrick, 88.
 Sprouston, Haldanes of, 10.
 St Andrews, 13, 49, 56, 72, 271, 364.
 St Mary's Loch, 272, 273, 276.
 St Mungo, college of, 122.
 St Vigean's Cross, 73.
 Stafford, Marchioness of, 142.
 Stammers, Joseph, 300.
 Stanley, Dean, 350.
 Steele, John, sculptor, 337.
 Steele, Sheriff, 140, 321.
 Stewart, Royal House of, 131, 173, 248.
 Stirling, 87, 98-117, 141, 184.
 Stirling Castle, 98-100, 166, 188, 199, 214-223, 311.
 "Stirling Castle Tracts," 222, 223.
 Stirling, Earl of, 311.
Stirling Gazette, 197-199, 330.
 Stirling Improvement Society, 113.
Stirling Journal, 189, 191, 192.
Stirling Observer, 178, 191, 197, 204, 213, 324.
 Stirling School of Arts, 193.
 Stirling, William, M.P., 150, 151, 155, 313.
 Stoddart, Thomas Tod, 282.
 Strachan, James, 144.
 Strathearn, district of, 97.
 Strickland, Miss Agnes, 267.
 Stuart, Sir John, of Fettercairn, 252.
 Stuart, Williamina, 252, 253.
 Sutherland, William, 319.

T.

TAIT, Archbishop, 141, 172, 208, 324.
 Tait, Sheriff John, 135, 136, 140, 152, 172, 177.
 Tannahill, Matthew, 283.
 Tannahill, Robert, 283.
 Tea introduced in Scotland, 6, 7.
 Telfer, James, poet, 281.
 Temperance Movement, 218.
 Tennant, Professor William, 28, 70.
 Tennyson, Alfred, 267, 300-307.
 Terraced gardens, Stirling, 112.

Teviotdale, 280.
 Teviothead, 280, 281.
 Thomson, Dr Mitchell, 233.
 Thomson, George, 283.
 Thomson, Mrs, 278.
 Thomson, Peter, 268.
 Tibbie Shiel's cottage, 274.
 Tillicoultry, 183.
Times, the, 241.
 Torwood, heights of, 96.
 Tract Movement, 221-242.
 Tranent, 255.
 Trosachs, the, 260.
 Tulloch, Rev. John, D.D., 72.
 Tynley, Emery, 355.

U.

ULLSWATER, 253.
 University reform, 58.

V.

VALLEY, Stirling, 104, 109, 215.
 Vericour, Professor de, 352.
Vigilati, 191, 192.
 Vilant, librarian, anecdote of, 16.
 Vindicators of Scottish rights, 126, 127, 130, 132, 133, 136, 149, 163, 322.
 Volere, Charlotte, 254.

W.

WALEIS, Henry, 131.
 Waleis, Johan, 131.
 Waleis, John le, 131.
 Walence, Adam, 131.
 Walence, Richard, 131.
 Walensis Robertus, 131.
 Waleys, Andrew, 132.
 Waleys, Henry, 131.
 Waleys, John, 132.
 Waleys, Malcolm, 131.
 Walker, James, of Dalry, 247.
 Walker, Miss Helen, 247-250.
 Walker of St Fort, family of, 247.
 Walker, Rev. S. A., Bristol, 233-241.
 Wallace, mother of, 89.
 Wallace Monument, the, 67, 127-213, 223, 228, 236, 366.
 Wallace, Robert, of Kelly, M.P., 169.
 Wallace, Sir James Maxwell, 168, 169, 177, 182, 325.
 Wallace, Sir William, 9, 43, 44, 74, 87, 89, 110, 116, 124, 126-132, 142-213, 259, 283, 366.
 Wallace, statue of, 168, 185.
 Warren, Captain Charles, 353.
 Webb, Anthony, Bath, 298.

- Webb, Mrs, 225.
 West of Scotland Fishing Society, 323.
 Weymouth, 233.
 "What's in a Name?" 163.
 White Hill quarry, 273.
 White, Robert, poet, 282.
 Wightman, Mrs, of Shrewsbury, 223.
 Wigtown martyrs, 109.
 Willemus Walensis, 131.
 William IV., 44.
 William the Lion, 74, 100.
 Willoughby d'Eresby, Lady, 171.
 Wilson, Agnes, 109.
 Wilson, Dr Charles, 68.
 Wilson, Margaret, 108.
 Wilson, Mrs Jean, 68.
 Wilson, Professor John, 272.
 Wilson, Rev. Carus, 221.
 Windermere Lake, 253.
 Wingate, Mr, 143.
 Winslow, Dr Octavius, 233.
 Winthrop, Hon. Robert C., 353.
 Wishart, George, 74, 354-360.
 Wishart, Sir John, 357-360.
 Witchcraft, anecdote relating to, 5.
 Woodfall, the printer, 25.
Workman's Friend, 224, 239, 240.
 Worsaae, Herr Hans J., 353.
 Wratislaw, Rev. A. H., 353.
 Wright, Mr, Bristol, 239.

Y.

- YARROW, 269, 278.
 York, Duke of, 7.
 Younger, John, poet, 281.

Z.

- ZERFFI, Dr, 353.

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